CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

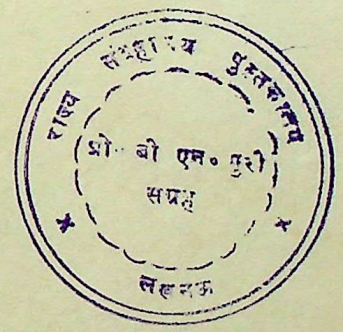
ABSTRACT

of

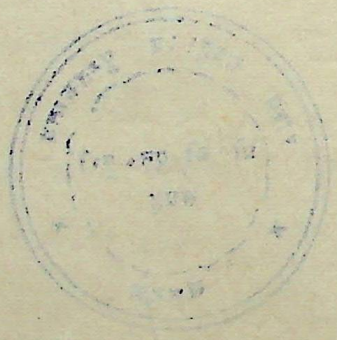
INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI

by

B. N. Puri



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION 1

Patañjali's Time 5
Identity of Two or More Patañjalis 16
Patañjali's Parentage and his Native Place . . . 21

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY 26

Dynastic History 29
The Vidharbha Problem 34
The Yavana Invasion 37
Aśvemedha Sacrifices 44
The Supposed Invasion of King Khāravela 46
Puṣyamitra's Successors 52
Vasumitra and other Śuṅga Rulers 57
Kāṇvas 60
Kiṅgdom of Pāñcāla 61
Rulers of Kauśāmbī 67
Kings of Ayodhyā 70
Rulers of Mathurā 71
Kaliṅga 74
Indo-Greeks 77
The House of Euthydemus 80
The House of Eucratides 83
Śakas 84
Some of the Tribes 86
Āndhras or the Early Śātavāhanas 89

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA 95

Conception of the Country 96
Physical Geography 99
Forests, Rivers 100
Political Geography 103
Kaśmīra, Gandhāra 104
Kekaya, Sālva 105
Udumbara, Bodha, Dārvya, Vāsāta 106

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER III. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA contd. PAGE

Ātmakāmeyaka, Sindhu, Sauvīra 107
Vāhīka 108
Mādras, Uśīnara 109
Śibi, Ambaṣṭha 110
Trigarta 111
Pāraskara, Brāhmanaka, Jihnava 112
Janapadas of the Āryāvarta 113
Kosala and Kāsī, Magadha 114
Videha and Vṛji, Aṅga and Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Simha 115
Kaliṅga 116
Prāgdeśa, Avanti-Kunti, Surāstra, Vidarbha . . . 117
Southern Janapadas 118
Towns and Villages 119
Villages 121

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE 124

Division of Society 125
Family Circle 128
Food 130
(a) Types of Food - Vegetarian 131
(b) - Non-Vegetation 135
(c) - Fruits and Drinks 136
Dinner Etiquette 137
Household Effects 139
Housing Arrangements 140
Dress and Ornaments - (a) Dress 142
- (b) Ornaments 145
Hair Arrangement 147
Face Decoration 150
Marriage and Position of Women 151
Pastime and Recreations 153
Social Evils 157
Miscellaneous Items of Social Interest 158

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC LIFE 161

Professions 161
(a) Artisan class 162
(b) Workers in Metal 163

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER V. ECONOMIC LIFE contd. PAGE.

(c) Masons and Architects 164
(d) Domestic Servants 164
(e) Cooks and Confectioners 165
(f) Wild Professions 166
(g) Low Professions 166
Agriculture and Husbandry 167
(a) Agricultural Holdings 167
(b) Preparations and Methods of Sowing 168
Ripening and Reaping 170
Storing 171
Other Crops 172
Husbandry 172
Merchandise 174
Trade Stipulations 175
Articles of Trade 177
Exchange and Barter 179
Coinage 181
Weights and Measures 188
Labour 191
Communications 192
Banking 194

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATIONAL LIFE 197

Objects of Study 198
Subjects of Study 200
Place and Time of Study 204
Methods of Study 206
Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil. . 210
Different Schools - Gotras and Caranas 214
Fees and Period of Study 221
Writing 222
Female Education 223
Assemblies 224

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS 228

Revival of Vedic Sacrifices 229
Types of Vedic Sacrifices 231
Yūpas 234

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER VII. RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS contd. PAGE

Domestic Sacrifices 236
Soma Drinking 238
Minor Sacrifices 239
Priests, Accessories and Durations of Sacrifices 240
Vedic Gods 246
Post-Vedic Deities 247
Images 249
Bhaktism - Bhāgavata Cult 251
Śaivism 258
Ascetic Orders 259
Popular Religious Beliefs 263
Buddhism 266
Jainism 268
Lokāyatas or Materialists 269

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERATURE 272

Vedic Literature and the Mahābhāṣya 273
Patañjali and Smṛti Literature 277
Patañjali and the Kāvya Literature 288
Patañjali and Popular Literature 295
Patañjali and Drama 299
Patañjali and Philosophical Data 303
Medicinal and Surgical Data in the Mahābhāṣya. . 309
Administrative Information 310
Miscellaneous Data 311
Patañjali's Style 313

CHAPTER IX.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE 317

Bhārhut Stupa, Railing and Toranas 319
Sāñchī 326
Buddha Gayā 336
Besnagar Column 339
Mathurā 341
Terracottas 347
Architecture 354
Town Architectural Plan 357

BIBLIOGRAPHY 363

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

INDIA IN THE TIME OF PATAÑJALI

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION

Patañjali, the last of the three sages, who gave a finishing touch to Pāṇinian system of grammar, is notable for his Mahābhāṣya. Traditional accounts accord him a divine status, and he is deified as a Bhagavat by Rāmabhadra.[1] The importance of his work is, no doubt, enhanced, when one takes into account the conditions under which, and the people for whom, it was written. At a time when the sūtras of Pāṇini, in the light of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, had created some confusion

---

1. According to the traditional account, given by Rāmabhadra in his 'Patañjali-Carita', he was an incarnation of Śeṣa and that was the reason for the Mahābhāṣya being also known as Phaṇibhāṣya (Phaṇibhāsita bhāṣyābdheḥ Śabdakaustubha Uddhṛtaḥ - Cf. Koṇḍabhaṭṭa - Vaiyākaraṇa bhūṣaṇa, kār I.) The story of his birth is described in detail by Rāmabhadra. In the Patañjalicarita, the Śeṣa makes an appearance in the form of a snake in the hands of Goṇikā, a female ascetic. Falling from the añjali or cavity of his mother, he was known as Patañjali (tavāñjalau mahābhāga patito 'haṁ hitāya te - Pat car. II. 8f.) According to Nāgojībhaṭṭa, he is said to have fallen from the añjali of a sage, while performing his daily worship in the city of Gonardda. After the fall, he assumed the shape of a boy and obtaining permission from Goṇikā, his mother, he proceeded to the Southern Coast for the performance of tapas (Gonarddeśe kasyacid ṛṣer añjaleḥ sandhyākaraṇasamaye patitā ity aitihyam. The Bṛhadgaṇeśa kalpalatā suggests the fall of Śeṣa, as ordained by Gaṇeśa, into the hands of a sage, and divulged the secret of his ascetic form to him. Cf. I.H.Q. Vol.II, p.262.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the minds of the Śiṣṭas, the well-read Brāhmaṇas, and Saṅskrit language was fast losing its popularity due to the emergence of literary provincial dialects, Patañjali undertook the self-imposed task of preserving its chaste character.[1] Its production, in conformity with the spirit of the time, aimed at making the Śiṣṭas appreciate and properly understand

---

1. Here again Rāmabhadra cites a few ślokas to show that the birth of Patañjali was to reprieve the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and justify Pāṇini, and explain his sūtras.

Kātyāyanaḥ karkaśayā prāsādya tapasyayā Candrakalāvatamsam tasyātha sūtreṣu padārthabodhapravartakam vārttikam ābabandha I.52

prayuktayā vyākaraṇasya sūtraiḥ savārttikaiḥ sādhutayā padānām adugdha gaur laukikavaidikātmā cirāya dugdhaṁ trividhaṁ janānām I.53

śrutvā nijasyopari Vārttikāni sūtraprabandhasya sa sūtrakāraḥ kātyāyanena grathitāny akupyat kālo hi dhīre 'pi karoti moham I.54

prakampitoṣṭham parivartitākṣam pādakramany añcita bhūmibhāgam tamāśramam Pāninir ājagāma kātyayanas tiṣṭhati yatra yogī I.55

Whether we may agree with Rāmabhadra in his conclusions or not, especially, on the aspersions cast against Kātyāyana, ~~one thing~~ is certain that Pāṇini's sūtras needed explanation for making them easily understandable, and in this Patañjali did his job well.

M.M. Harprasād Śāstrī expressed his views in a similar manner. He contended that Patañjali wrote his Bhāṣya for a language which was fast vanishing, and going out of use. It is a well-known fact that when he wrote, literary vernaculars had grown up in different provinces, and that he was legislating for the speech of the Śiṣṭas only - the well-to-do Brāhmaṇas and inhabitants of Āryāvarta. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.II. pp.32-3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the sūtras of Pāṇini in a scientific manner. In so doing, he closely examined the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, his predecessor, in a critical spirit.

According to the late Professor Kielhorn,[1] it would be wrong to suppose that all the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana have been refuted by Patañjali with a view to support Pāṇini. The real task of this great commentator was to bring within the range of discussion those sūtras of Pāṇini which were objected to by Kātyāyana, and his reaction to those criticisms, as well as others, left out by his predecessor. Patañjali, therefore, has not been a critic of Kātyāyana all through; but in some cases he also endorses the views of the Vārttikakāra and questions Pāṇini on certain matters, which had escaped the notice of his predecessor. This led Kaiyyaṭa, the commentator on the Mahābhāṣya to lay down the rule that the later the Muni, the greater is his authority.[2] It does not, however, in any way minimise the greatness of the two predecessors whom Patañjali himself has venerated;[3] but such an assertion by Kaiyyaṭa has some value when one traces the progress, or the

---

1. Kātyāyana and Patañjali pp.50 ff.

2. Yathottaram munitrayasya prāmāṇyam - cf. com. on I. 1.29.

3. Cf. Vārttikavacanaprāmāṇya. II. 1.1.p.371 L.18; also other references to Vārttikakāra I. 1.34 p.93 L.5; III.1.44 p.53 L.1; III.2118 p.121 L.9; VIII. 1.1. p.238 L.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

change, in the Saṁskrit dialect, between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali.[1] This fact was also noticed by Goldstücker.

Patañjali, in giving a new setting to the sūtras of Pāṇini, availed himself of the opportunity for presenting a picture of India of his time. ~~In~~ On this ~~matter~~ point, one entirely agrees with Bhartṛhari, the author of ~~the~~ Vākyapadīya,[2] who

---

1. According to Goldstücker, "the position of Patañjali is analogous, though not identical. Far from being a commentator on Pāṇini, he could more properly be called an author of Vārttikās. But, as he had two predecessors to deal with instead of one - and two predecessors, too, one of whom being an adversary of the other, - his great commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he had to perform, now of criticising Pāṇini, and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana. Therefore, in order to show where he coincided with, or where he differed from, the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he had to write a comment on the Vārttikas of this later grammarian; and thus the Mahābhāṣya became not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, while its Iṣṭis, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his original remarks" - Pāṇini p.119.

2. II. 484-488. The account, as given by Bhartṛhari in five ślokas in his Vākyapadīya, is interesting, as it shows how this great commentary was written to preserve the continuity of the Vyākaraṇa Smṛti. These references suggest that, when Patañjali wrote his grest commentary, he tried to put in it the essence of all sciences - the germs of all principles. They are important, not only for understanding the history of grammar, but also in evaluating the Mahābhāṣya for its throwing light on the cultural condition of India in the time when it was written. The ślokas may be quoted here in original. The last one, however, refers to the decline of its study, till it was revived in the South.

prāyeṇa saṁkṣeparūcīn alpavidyāparigrahān
saṁprāpya vaiyākaraṇān saṁgraho 'stam upāgate II.484

(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

wrote a running commentary on the Mahābhāṣya which has been referred to by I-tsing.[1] In the words of the celebrated poet, the Mahābhāṣya contains the germs of all principles - religious, social, scientific and moral.[2] The Bhāṣyakāra could not avoid references to topics of current interest, while explaining the sūtras, or in examining the vārttikas of his precursor. A close study of this data considerably helps in fixing the date of Pantañjali, and also in revealing the condition of India of his time - social, economic, religious, educational and also political to a certain extent. A good deal of information is also supplied by this work on Indian geography - cities, rivers and villages; and on other miscellaneous topics.

Patañjali's time:- This question has been threshed out by scholars with inconclusive results. Their views are conflicting and good many scholars - eastern and western, have advanced their views[3] which are so conflicting that the composition of the

---

kṛte 'tha Patañjalinā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā
sarveṣām nyāyavijñānām Mahābhāṣye nibandhane II.485

alabdhagādhe gāmbhīryād uttāna iva sausṭhavāt
tasminn akṛtabuddhīnām naivā 'vāsthitaniścayaḥ II.486

Vaiji-Saubhava-Haryyakṣaiḥ śuṣkatarkānusāribhih
ārṣe viplāvite granthe saṃgrahapratikañcuke II.487

yaḥ Patañjaliśiṣyebhyo bhraṣṭo vyākaraṇāgamaḥ
kāle sa dākṣiṇātyeṣu granthamātre vyavasthitaḥ II.488

1. Takakusu p.178.
2. Ref. cit. cf. II.485
3. Cf. Goldstücker; Pāṇini (1861) p.228 ff. Weber, Ind. Stud. 5, 147 ff; Peterson J.B.B.R.A.S. vol.16, 1883-85

(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mahābhāṣya ranges in its upper limit from the 10th century B.C. to its lower limit, in the fourth century A.D. These theories may be examined afresh, in the hope that the internal evidence itself would prove decisive by the work itself, if so strong that most of them can hardly stand. As most of the advocates of these theories died and they have not been given up, it is desirable to consider them afresh, after reducing the period, or the diversity of opinions, to a moderate margin; and then take into detailed consideration the data available from the work itself.

The earliest date, fixed by N. Bhāṣyācārya[1] in the 10th century B.C. needs no comment. It is absurd to presume that Patañjali's reference precludes the possibility of an earlier date gupta and Pusyamitra centuries ahead, unless we reduce the work to the status of Purāṇas speaking about the future. His aspersions against Western scholarship are uncalled for, and his judgement is puerile. Moreover, his paper suggests a narrow outlook by passing judgement on western scholars and their contributions to Indology, with the result that one has hardly any opinion to

---

pp.181 ff; R.G. Bhandarkar, J.B.B.R.A.S. ibid, pp.199 ff; Liebich, Pāṇini, 511 f; Bühler, 'Indische Inschriften' p.72; N. Bhāshyācārya - 'The Age of Patañjali', Adyar, Madras 1889; Haraprasād Sāstrī, J.A.S.B. 6, 1910 p.261; Winternitz, 'Geschichte der indischen litteratur' pp.389 ff and Ref; Louis de la Vallée-Poussin - L'inde aux temp des Mauryas, pp.199 ff. and Ref; Keith, Sanskrit Literature p.427; D.C. Sircar, I.H.Q. Vol.XV. 1939 p.39 and 633 ff; Belvalkar, Systems of Sanskrit Grammar pp.32 ff.

1. Ref. cit. The Adyar Library Series Madras, No.1 p.15.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~express, save that it was written with a prejudiced mind.~~

The lowest limit, ~~was~~ fixed by Peterson[1] in the fourth century A.D., ~~since Patañjali refers~~ based on Patañjali's reference to Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra who has been identified by him with the Puṣpamitra conquered by Skandagupta, and mentioned in the Bhitārī Pillar inscription. He also ~~referred~~ noticed ~~to~~ I-tsing's reference to ~~who mentioned~~ a commentary on it (the Vṛtti Sūtra i.e. the Kāśikāvṛtti) entitled Cūrni containing 24,000 ślokas. Peterson's identification is unacceptable, as the inscription refers to a tribe known by that name and not the king. The actual wording of the inscription is Puṣyamitrāṁś ca jitvā[2] and not Puṣyamitram, as suggested by him.[3] R.G. Bhandarkar controverted Peterson's theory and pointed out the improbability of his views and the supposed identification in the light of the passage referring to the

---

1. J.B B.R.A.S. Vol.XVI. p.189.

2. C.I.I. Vol.III. 52 ff. L.11.

3. Op. ~~Ref~~. cit. pp.191 ff.
The Purāṇas mention a people called Puṣyamitras whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasty of the Vindhyakas. According to the Viṣnu Purāṇa, as quoted by Wilson, Puṣpamitras and Paṭumitras, and others, to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekalā (Vol.IV. pp.212-3). The late Boden Professor pointed out that 'it seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya Princes from these Bāhlikas and then from the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekalā, a country on the Narmadā. The Vāyu Purāṇa groups the two with the rulers of Mekalā

Puṣyamitrā bhaviṣyanti Paṭumitrās trayodaśa
Mekalāyāṁ nṛpāḥ sapta bhaviṣyantīha saptatīm "

(II. Pargiter, p.51)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Mauryas and the Yavanas in the sense in which they have to be understood. This identification also belies Kalhaṇas statement[1] about Abhimanyu patronising the Mahābhāṣya. The theory advanced by Peterson, fixing such a late period for Patañjali and speaking of the Mahābhāṣya, as a commentary on the Kāśikā, is ~~something which none would believe now~~ incredible.

Weber discussed the data from the Mahābhāṣya at greater length in his paper, which can still be studied with care to ascertain some cultural and geographical information from this work. His articles in the Indian Antiquary'[2], referring to Patañjali's time, however, need careful scrutiny. According to the late Professor, when we adduce and criticize the testimonies of the Vākyapadīya and the Rājataraṅgiṇī, as quoted by Goldstücker, the final conclusion, at which we arrive, is that Patañjali lived about 25 after Christ. He has put in between the years 5 - 45 A.D., according to Lassen's reckoning of Abhimanyu's accession to the throne, the following events -

---

1. Candrācāryādibhir labdhvā deśaṁ tasmāt tadāgamam pravartitam Mahābhāṣyaṁ svaṁ ca vyākaraṇaṁ kṛtam I.176

   In the Rājataraṅgiṇī, this king Abhimanyu is immediately mentioned after Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka, and if such was the case, ~~then~~ the composition of the Mahābhāṣya must have taken place much earlier, and Peterson's theory ~~fails to the ground~~ fails. Keith doubted the date of Abhimanyu, but accepted Bhartṛhari's reference testifying to the long study of the text before his time (c.650 A.D.) (Cf. Keith - History of Sanskrit Literature p.428.)

2. Vol.II. pp.57 ff.; 210 ff.; cf. also Weber on the Date of Patañjali (Trans. from Indis. Stud.) pp. 61 ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

namely, the besieging of Sāketa, the oppressing of the Mādhyamikās, by the same, or another Yavana, the composition of the Mahābhāṣya, and lastly between the years 45-65, Abhimanyu's care for this work. He also suggested that Kaṇiṣka, the Indo-Scythian Yavana, besieged Sāketa and was ill-disposed towards the Mādhyamikās in the interest of Hīnayāna. As regards the Puṣpamitra reference, he suggested that Patañjali did not live at that time, but the memory of the King was still cherished by the Brāhmaṇas.

Weber, it appears, twisted the passage referring to the besieging of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavanas, to suit his arguments. He correctly identified Sāketa, but the association of the other word, for namesake, with the school of Buddhism to which Nāgārjuna belonged, is ~~far from truth~~ incorrect. His inability to link any anti-Buddhist Yavana ruler with the Sāketa Campaign, and further bring in any yavana ruler, who could come as far as Ayodhyā and be hostile to these Buddhists, compelled him to fit in Kaṇiska[1] which is contrary to facts as we know now. The theory

---

1. Cf. I.H.Q. Vol.XV. p.633 ff; D.C. Sircar suggested that the work in its present form does not appear to be much earlier than the Kuṣāṇa Period, basing his arguments on the reference to quotations from the Mahābhārata and Harivaṁśa, the flourishing state of Kāvya literature, use of metres which are supposed to be of later times, and the reference to the Vyūhas of Kṛṣṇa, and the śakas. At the close of his arguments he suggests that Patañjali was himself a contemporary of Puṣyamitra śuṅga, but his work, the original Mahābhāṣya, was revised and enlarged by early grammarians of his own school. One may agree with him for his ingenuity but there is hardly any evidence of the original Mahābhāṣya, having undergone any change. He is not very sure of his contentions. (Cf. p.638)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

suggested
~~propagated~~ by him, particularly in trying to harmonise many facts at a particular time, is very confusing, and ~~is~~ unacceptable at its face value.

The
~~Amongst~~ other dates, suggested by scholars are:-
1 2 3
Böhtlingk - 200 B.C.; MaxMüller - 200 B.C.; Goldstücker,
4 5
R.G. Bhandarkar - 144-142 B.C., and Keith - 150 B.C. As they based their arguments on the evidence, afforded by the Mahābhāṣya itself, those passages may be examined afresh.

rightly
It is presumed, ~~and rightly~~, that Patañjali in his comments
refers to ~~certain~~ important Contemporary events and personalities, ~~very probably~~, ~~of his time~~. One such event is the besieging of

---

1. Pānini's Grammatik, p.X.

2. History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p.244. The late Professor MaxMüller was not very certain about the probable date of its composition. He suggested that we cannot be very far from wrong in placing the composition of the original grammar and of the supplementary rules of Kātyāyana on the threshold of the third century B.C. At what time the Mahābhāṣya was composed, it is difficult to say. Further, he pointed out, that "as an experiment we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B.C. as the limits of that age during which the Brahmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of the Sūtras."

3. Pānini, p.239. He proposed ~~suggested~~ that Patañjali must have written his commentary on the Vārttika to Pāṇini III.2.111, between 140 and 120 B.C., and this is the only date in the ancient literature of India, which, "in my belief, rests on more than mere hypothesis."

4. I.A. Vol.I. pp.299 ff; J.B.B R.A.S. Vol.XVI. p.199 ff.

5. History of Sanskrit literature p.5. In his 'Sanskrit Drama' he suggested 140 B.C. as the date of Patañjali with reasonable assurance.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sāketa by the Yavanas (arunad Yavanaḥ Sāketam), and of Madhyamikā (arunad yavano Madhyamikām).[1] These illustrations are given by Patañjali, ~~while considering a rule, laid down by Kātyāyana, teaching that~~ in his Commentary the fact the imperfect should be used to signify an action, not witnessed by the speaker; but capable of being noticed by him, and known to people in general. Therefore the siege of Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Madhyamikā (near Chittor), and not the school of the Mādhyamikās, as presumed by Weber, were witnessed by the speaker to whom Patañjali is referring in his comment. Now the question, necessarily, arises - who were the Yavanas, and when did they besiege Sāketa?

~~The~~ Reference to the Yavanas, advancing as far as the land of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, is also made by Kālidāsa, and the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā.[2] The former, in his Mālavikāgnimitra, refers to the attack by the Yavanas while the Śuṅga forces ~~of Puṣyamitra~~, under the command of his grandson Vasumitra, were following ~~moving along with~~ the horse ~~which was~~ let loose in connection with the ~~for the performance of~~ Aśvamedha sacrifice of ~~by~~ the Śuṅga monarch. The Yavanas were defeated, and Puṣyamitra invited his son and

---

1. III. 2. 111 p.119, L.5.

2. Act.V. - yo 'sau rājasūyayajñadīkṣitena mayā rājaputraśataparivṛtaṁ vasumitraṁ goptāraṁ ādiśya saṁvatsaropāvartanīyo nirgalas turago visṛṣṭaḥ sa sindhordakṣinarodhasi carann aśvānīkena yavanānām prārthitaḥ

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

It is now accepted by scholars that this Yavana invasion referred to Patañjali should be associated with Demetrius.

This Yavander invader, mentioned by Patañjali is identified with Demetrius

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

daughters-in-law to join the celebrations. The latter source[1] mentions the advance of the Yavanas as far as Kusumadhvaja (Pātaliputra) and their subsequent retreat ~~due~~ owing to trouble at home.[2] This yavana invader mentioned by Patañjali is identified with Demetrius. ~~It is now practically agreed that it was Demetrius who was responsible for the Yavana invasion referred to by Patañjali.~~ The probable date of this event ~~is deferred~~ may be postponed for consideration till we have weighed other pieces of evidence suggesting the probable date and time of Patañjali.

The Bhāṣyakāra has also referred to the sacrifice, performed by Puṣyamitra, in which he had, probably, some hand. Commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, and suggesting the use of the present tense (laṭ) to denote an action or under-

---

1. tataḥ sāketam ākramya Pañcālā Mathurā(s) tathā Yavanāś ca suvikrāntāḥ prāpsyanti kusumdhvajam Ll. 94-95

   Cf. D.R. Mankad's Paper on 'A critically edited text of the Yuga Purāṇa' - Journal. U.P. Historical Society Vol.XX 1947. Parts 1-2 pp.32 ff, and References.

2. K.P. Jayaswal tried to prove that the Greek king of Patañjali and Khāravela's time, was Demetrius and not Menander; and he quoted the following passage from the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā:-

   Dharmmamīta tamāvrddhā janam bhokṣyanti nirbhayāḥ Yavanājñāpayiṣyanti (naśyeran) ca pārthivāḥ (J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIV pp.127 ff).

   Dharmmamita is correctly identified with Demetrius; but according to Keith, this Yavana king was probably Menander (c.156-153 B.C.) - Cf. History of Sanskrit literature p.428. Sten Konow agreed with Jayaswal's views (A.O. Vol.I. p.27). Dr Tarn has suggested that, at the time of the invasion, Menander was only Demetrius' general, a fact, it would seem, better understood by Indian writers of the period than by modern scholars ('Greek' in Bactria and India p.141). At another page he suggests that Menander was governor or viceroy for Demetrius for all the conquests south-eastward of the Jhelum (ibid p.167). Cf. also C.H.I. Vol.I.p.544.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dyy - where the causative is expressed?

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

taking which has begun but not finished, he cites as an instance - Here we dwell, here we perform, (as priests), the sacrifice, instituted by Puṣyamitra (iha vasāmaḥ-iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ)[1]. This, again, corroborates the testimony of the first reference pointing to the contemporaneity of the Bhāṣyakāra with the Sunga monarch - Puṣyamitra.

In this connection there is another reference under Rule I. 1.68(7) - jitaparyāyavacanasyaiva rājādy artham - indicating that "a tatpuruṣa samāsa ending with the word sabhā - court, is neuter, provided it is preceded by the word rājan, or by a word denoting a non-human being; but not when it is compounded with the name of a particular king." Here Patañjali ~~has~~ cited as an illustration - Puṣpamitrasabhā[2] - the assembly of King Puṣyamitra. The name of this ruler is quoted again by the Bhāṣyakāra in his comment on the Sūtra hetumati ca[3], which explains that the affix nic is employed after a root, when the ~~operation of a causer~~ causative is ~~to be~~ expressed. Here Patañjali cites Puṣyamitra sacrifices (yajate), and the sacrificial priests cause him to sacrifice (i.e. to be the sacrificer for performing the ceremonies for him). According to Pāṇini's rule, the order ought to be 'Puṣyamitra causes (the priests) to sacrifice and the

---

1. III.2. 123 p.123, Ll.3-4.
2. I.1.68 p.177, L.10.
3. III.1.26 p.34, Ll.1, 2, 6-7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

priests sacrifice.' Puṣyamitra sacrifices (yajati) and the priests (yājaka) cause him to perform it (yājayanti).

What ever be the grammatical aspects in all the four instances, quoted above, ~~one thing~~ it is certain that Patañjali drew his illustrations from ~~events of national importance which took place in his time, or were actually happening, so as~~ important / important contemporary events to ~~cause~~ make a deeper impression on the minds of the readers. The references to Puṣyamitra - his assembly or yajñas - sacrifices, a number of times, show that he ~~may~~ might have been his contemporary. The Maurya passage,[1] cited by scholars on this point, is hardly helpful in fixing his time, though it, no doubt, delimits the period beyond which we must not think of this last muni. Commenting on the Sūtra Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye (v.399) -"in the case of a life sustenance, serving an object which is an image (pratikṛti), the affix ka is not used except when the object is saleable", Patañjali cites as examples the images of Siva, Skanda and Viśākha, where the rule of affixing ka does not apply. The gold coveting Mauryas had caused images of the gods to be prepared, but the rule applies only in such cases where these images provide living for the person who exhibits them to the householders. Weber was of opinion that Pāṇini, in referring to images (pratikṛti), that were saleable - that

---

1. This passage from the Mahābhāṣya (v.3.99 p.429) has been interpreted by Goldstücker, Weber and R.G. Bhandarkar (~~Ref~~. cit.)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is by their afforded sustenance of life (jīvikārtha), had in his eye such as these that had come down from the Mauryas." This he cites as the opinion of Patañjali.

The internal evidence, afforded by the Mahābhāṣya, suggests that Patañjali was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. As regards the composition of the work, particularly that portion which refers to the invasion of the Yavanas and the performance of horse sacrifice, there is a difference of opinion in view of the reference to the defeat of the (Rājā Muriya) at the hands of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, and the retreat of the Yavana rāja Dimita abandoning Mathurā.[1] It is also suggested[2] that Puṣyamitra performed another sacrifice to vindicate his position after his humiliation at the hands of King Khāravela; and this portion of the Mahābhāṣya was written late in the lifetime of the Śuṅga monarch who, according to the Purāṇas[3] ruled for a period of 36 years from B.C. 185-149. As this point is to be discussed in detail, in the Chapter on 'Political History' we may skip through it here, and consider the external evidence on the date of Patañjali, if any.

The external evidence is furnished by Bhartṛhari, the

---

1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.III.pp.444 f; vol.IV.pp.384 f.
2. ibid. Vol.X. p.205. Jayaswal suggested that Puṣyamitra was defeated by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, evidently after his first sacrifice. He re-established his Imperial position a second time. He further suggested that Kālidāsa was referring to the second sacrifice when Puṣyamitra had a grandson, young enough to lead the forces.
3. Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam ṣat-triṁśati samānṛpaḥ (Pargiter - Dynasties of the Kali Age, p.31)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

author of Vākyapadīya, who is said to have written a running commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, which ~~has also been~~ fact is also mentioned by I-tsing.[1] The date of Bhartṛhari is fixed about 600 A.D. The ~~entire evidence~~ Vākyapadīya contains data relating to the history of the Mahābhāṣya, and its decay at the hands of logicians named Baiji, Saubhava, and Hāryakṣa, who minimised the importance of grammar with a view to extoling logical principles, ~~is referred to in the Vākyapadīya~~. Though it was studied in the Deccan as an ordinary text, the neglect did not continue for long, and attempts were made by Candrācārya, Vasurāta and others to restore its true status. This fact is also noticed in the Rājataraṅgiṇī which refers to the grammarians Candrācārya and others popularising the study of the Mahābhāṣya in the reign of Abhimanyu. ~~The~~ This entire story has ~~hardly any~~ little significance, except that it throws light on the sacred character of the work and its author, ~~coupled with the feeling of veneration for Patañjali~~ Patañjali who commanded respect for his learning ~~which must have taken some time~~. Though these facts do not ~~in any way fix~~ settle the exact time of the Bhāṣyakāra, they certainly suggest the ~~antiquated nature~~ established position of this work and its writer.

Identity of two or more Patañjalis:- The identity of two or more Patañjalis engaged the attention of some scholars, who

---

1. Keith has placed Bhartṛhari's death in C.651 A.D. The composition of his Vākyapadīya and the running commentary on the Mahābhāṣya, which is "all but lost", may safely be placed in the sixth century A.D.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

expressed ~~their views one way or the other~~ divergent views. The supporters of the identity theory include Liebich[1] and Chakravartty,[2] while those opposed to the identification of the Bhāṣyakāra with the ~~author of the Yoga-sūtra~~ Yogasūtrakāra[3] are Professor Renou,[4] Y.H. Woods[5] and Jacobi. The advocates of the identification theory base their arguments on a number of points - the opening of the two works with similar aphorisms (cf. atha śabdānuśāsanam and atha yogānuśāsānam), ~~want~~ absence of criticism on the doctrine of sphoṭa in the Yoga-sūtra, ~~though~~ despite its repeated notice by all schools of philosophy, and the reference to yoga in the Mahābhāṣya. They also referred to Bhartṛhari's allusion[6] to the effect that the Yoga śāstra seemed to purge the mind of all foul elements, while eulogising the author of the Mahābhāṣya. By way of negative arguments, it is suggested by the advocates of the identification theory that, as the two works deal with altogether different topics, and having practically nothing in common, it is difficult to trace parallelism so far as the texts are concerned.

---

1. S.B. Heid, 1919, 4.p.7 f; 1921, 7.p.57 f.
2. I.H.Q. Vol.II. p.265 f.
3. ibid., Vol.XVI. p.586 f.
4. Yoga system (Translation). H.O.S. Vol.XVII. p.XV.
5. J.A.O.S. Vol. XXXI. p.25. f.
6. I.148. Yujyate Yogam Brahmacārī.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

As against these arguments, Professor Renou and others have adduced views from the grammatical and philosophical standpoints. Professor Renou's arguments centre round grammatical terminology like pratyāhara, upasarga, pratyaya and vikaraṇa etc. which appear in the Yoga-sūtra with different values. Further, he also expressed surprise at the non-utilization of the value of ca, va, iti etc. in the Yoga-sūtra and the language of the latter work points to a development in the sense of analysis. The style and combination, ~~too, have~~ are also ~~been~~ taken into consideration. Jacobi discussed at great length the difference in the philosophical ideas of the two works, which definitely suggest the posterior character of the latter one. The adoption of the original heterodox doctrines unmistakably point to a relatively modern time, This confirming the result, arrived at by examining the allusions to Buddhist doctrines, contained in the Yoga-sūtra which must be later than the fifth century A.D. Wood, translating the Yoga-bhāṣya, (c.650-850 A.D.) suggested that this work does not contain an allusion, more or less direct, to the theory of the unity of the parts of concrete substances, as set forth in the Mahābhāṣya. The divergent conceptions of the two works, at least, in regard to the question of 'substance' (dravya) and quality (guṇa), nullifies the identification theory. Jacobi rightly summed up that, since the author of the Yoga-sūtra does not conform to the grammatical rules, taught by the author

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Mahābhāṣya, and because the latter is ignorant of the philosophical views of the former, they cannot be identical, but must be two different persons. Dr Barnett also referred to the weakness of the tradition attributing the sūtra (yoga) to Patañjali (Bhāṣyakāra), which is admitted by Dr S.N. Das-Gupta who, however, proves the impossibility of demonstrating from internal evidence the posterity of the yoga-sūtra to the Mahābhāṣya.[1]

A perusal of the views, set forth by the two sets of scholars, may easily convince us that the identity of name is not a safe ground for the identity of personality. If it is for the name-sake only, then there is another Patañjali, the author of the Nidāna-sūtra, who, too, could be identified with the Bhāṣyakāra. K.C. Bhatnagar, editing the Nidāna-sūtra has quoted the Berlin Catalogue and MaxMüller's Ṣaḍaguruśiṣya (1187 A.D.?) in his comment on Kātyāyana's Sarvānukramāṇi with a view to show that Patañjali, the Bhāṣyakāra, the author of the Yoga-sūtra and the one, who composed the Nidāna-sūtra were identical (yogā-cāryaḥ svayaṁ kartā yogā-śāstra nidānayoḥ).[3] There are traditional accounts, based on Śivarāma's comment on

---

1. J.R.A.S. 1932, p.417.

2. Punjab Sanskrit Series, p.27.

3. yogena cittasya padena vācām malam śarīrasya tv vaidyakena
yo 'pākarot tam pravaram munīnām Patañjalim prāñjalir
ānato 'smi
(Bibl. Ind. ed. p.239)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Vāsavadattā, as well as Patañjalicarita[1] of Rāmabhadra, which suggest that Patañjali wrote three works - one on yoga, the second on grammar and the third on medicine. The last one is also referred to by Cakrapāṇi[2] in his commentary on Caraka. But the question is: Are we to rely on these traditions, based on works written over a thousand years later, when the Patañjali was accorded a divine status. ~~Bhāṣyakāra's name had assumed a form capable of being easily associated with different families?~~ In fact the Yuktidīpikā[3] refers to another Patañjali.

It would not be surprising to find that, as the gotras came to be associated with Vedic ṛsis, certain families ~~began~~ were ~~to~~ linked ~~themselves~~ with the name of Patañjali. An inscription[4]

---

1. sūtrāṇi yogaśāstre vaidyakaśāstre ca vārttikāni tataḥ kṛtvā Patañjalimuniḥ pracārayāmāsa jagad idaṁ trātum V.25

2. Pātañjala-Mahābhāṣya-Carakapratisaṁskṛtaiḥ mano-vāk-kāyadoṣānām hantre 'hipataye namaḥ

   Patañjali's medical work, ~~thus~~, consisted in a revision (pratisaṁskṛta) of the great compendium of Caraka (Ref. Jolly's book on Medicine in Bühler's Grundriss series p.25)

3. Cal. Sans. Series ed. P.C. Chakravartty, p.32. According to this work, this Patanjali did not believe in the existence of ahaṁkāra as a separate category.
   ucyate:- ahaṁkāra parigrahārtham evam tarhi naivāhaṁkāro vidyata iti Patañjaliḥ mahatoʻsmī pratyayarūpatvābhūpāgamāt

   This is quoted in relation to the views of the author of the Yuktidīpikā that an ancient master of Sāṅkhya, called Paurika held that Prakṛti is not one, but there is an infinite plurality of prakṛtis, each being attached to a different Puruṣa.

4. E.I. Vol.XII. p.298 f. at p.306.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from Narendra of the time of Vikramāditya, and the Kadamba ruler Jayakeśin II dated A.D. 1125, refers to Patañjali, the grammarian (Śabda-Vidyā Patañjali sah) by way of comparing and eulogising the qualities of the ruler. This record seems important for two reasons: Firstly, it refers to Patañjali as a grammarian alone, and secondly, ~~he had attained, by that time, a position of reverence as a model of super excellence.~~ his eminence and attainments in the sphere of grammar were unquestionable, and even worth emulating. Thus it would be improper to assume that all the three Patañjalis ~~were one and the same person.~~ the identity of two or three Patañjalis who distinguished themselves in different fields. ~~Despite these traditional accounts, which associate so many works with the same person,~~ other factors cannot be ignored. The internal evidence, ~~furnished by the works themselves,~~ as furnished by these works, in relation to style, subject matter and the disparity in language involving grammatical omissions, necessarily suggest that there were two or more Patañjalis. The inscription from Narendra is positive in referring to Patañjali as a grammarian alone and, though it ~~is dated in A.D. 1125,~~ late character, its evidentiary value is not less ~~when placed on a par with such later traditional accounts~~ despite its in comparison to traditional accounts.

Patañjali's Parentage and his native place. As regards Patañjali's parentage and his birthplace, though traditional accounts suggest that he was an incarnation of Śeṣa, born in mysterious circumstances, but the best thing would be to look for his personal account in the Mahābhāṣya itself. Gonikāputra,[1]

---

1. I.4.51, p.336 L.16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and Gonardīya[1] are the two expressions traced in the Mahābhāṣya. Goṇikā might have been his mother, as we find in the Patañjali-carita,[2] and this expression stands in analogy to Dāksīputra[3] with reference to Pāṇini, who is also called Śālatūrīya[4] by Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi. It is not unusual for persons being named after mothers, as for example, Veneration of the mother, who is so important in a person's upbringing, is nothing unusal.[5] Aśvaghoṣa also styled himself Suvarnākṣīputra,[6] after the name of his mother. Vātsyāyana has mentioned both

---

1. I.1.21 p.78.,L.2; I.1.29 p.91,L.28; III.1.92 p.76,L.14; VII.2.101 p.309,L.11.

2. tatra kā-api dadrśe munikanyā Goṇikā iti guṇasindhur anena II.7.

3. I.1.20 p.75,L.13. - sarve sarvapadādeśa Dāksīputrasya Pāṇini

4. śālaturīyodākṣeyo Gonardīyaḥ Patañjaliḥ (Bohtlingk und Rieu ed. p.157,L.89.

5. Saundarnanda 'Colophon'.

6. Vātsyāyana has referred to the two writers - Goṇikāputra (Kāma-sūtra I.5; V.1; VI.48 etc.) and Gonardīya (ibid I.4), who wrote on the subject of treatment of a wife. It can hardly be conjectured that he was referring to Patañjali. According to Kielhorn, Goṇikāputra and Gonardīya were not names of Patañjali. He cited a manuscript written in 1695, in which there is the gloss - "Goṇikāputrabhāryamate ubhayathā bhavati, sastī bhavatī dvitīyāpi bhavati viz. in the opinion of the Ācārya Goṇikāputra, a phrase which can hardly be said to refer to the Bhāṣyakāra. As regards Gonardīya, he must be a grammarian, quoted by him, and such he believed was the opinion of Vāmana, the author of a portion of the Kāśikāvṛtti and of Bhartṛhari." (I.A. Vol.XV. p.80 f.).

   R.L. Mitra also doubted the identification of Goṇikāputra and Gonardīya in the Mahābhāṣya. He suggested that there was a solitary instance of the use of this honorific Goṇikāputra, as he always prefers the derivatives by the use of such participles as jñeyam - 'it should be known', or kartavyam - 'it should be done', and not by naming himself in the third person. He pointed out that there may have

(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Gonardīya and Goṇikāputra, as authors on dramaturgy. It may ~~have been a fact that there were others of these names, but that does not imply that they are identical with the one mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.~~ Moreover, Nāgojibhaṭṭa has identified Goṇikāputra with the Bhāṣyakāra himself.[1]

As regards Gonardīya, the late R.G. Bhandarkar[2] identified ~~this place~~ it with Gondā in Avadha. He tried to prove that, according to the usual rules of corruption, Sanskrit rda (र्द) is in the Prākṛts corrupted to dda (द्द) but sometimes it is also changed to ḍḍa (ड्ड), and, as hasty pronunciation sometimes elides the a and in the latter stages of the development of Prakṛts one of the two similar consonants is rejected, so Gonarda becomes Gonḍā. He also cited two passages from the Mahābhāṣya testifying to the composition of this work at a place in between Mathurā and Pātaliputra.[3]

---

been a Gonardīya and a Goṇikāputra before the time of Vātsyāyana and necessarily long before that of Patañjali, and yet there was nothing to prevent him bearing these aliases. The manner, however, in which these names have been cited leaves no room for the entertainment of such an opinion. (J.A.S.B. Vol.LII 1883, p.330 f.)

1. Goṇikāputro bhāṣyakāra ity āhuḥ - Ref.cit.

2. I.A. Vol.II. 1873, p.70.

3. III.3.136, p.162,L.6.
yo 'yam adhvā gata ā-pāṭaliputrāt tasya yad avaram sāketād iti - "of the distance or path from Pāṭaliputra which has been traversed (such a thing was done in) that part of it which is on this side of Sāketa;
(6) yo 'yam adhvā pāṭaliputrād gantavyas tasya yatparam sāketād iti (ibid. L.11.)
Of the distance or path up to Pāṭaliputra which is to be traversed (something will be done in) that portion which lies on that side of Sāketa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Weber presumed the ingenuity of the conclusion, ~~which~~ no doubt ~~was~~, ~~however~~, surrounded by ~~very~~ grave difficulties particularly, the correct translation of the word pūrvam in the passage Māthurayāḥ Pāṭaliputraṁ pūrvam. It gives just the opposite direction implying that Pāṭaliputra was situated between the speaker and Mathurā, and the speaker, therefore, must have lived to the east of the former. He, however, suggested that Patañjali had visited different parts of India, ~~while~~ as he was writing the Mahābhāṣya. The dwelling place of the Bhāṣyakāra ~~could~~ hardly be ascertained from these passages and he suggested[1] waiving the matter altogether.

According to P.C. Chakravartty,[2] Gonarda must be a place somewhere in the Deccan. He contended that Patañjali belonged to Southern India, and had intimate knowledge of that part, as could be inferred from the Mahābhāṣya itself. He not only speaks of a peculiar linguistic characteristic of the Deccan, that is, of using words in taddhita suffixes, as for example, laukike and vaidike instead of 'loke' and 'vede'. The reference to big lakes and ponds, popularly called sarasī, in the Deccan is also construed as an evidence pointing in that direction.

It seems that Mr Chakravarty lost sight of the fact that, while Patañjali speaks of directions in which the cities of

---

1. Inds. Stud. Vol.XIII. p.314; I.A. Vol.II. 1873, p.57 f.
2. I.H.Q. Vol.II. p.268.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Madhyadeśa were separated from one another, and occasionally distances as well, he does not even care to locate the position of Coḍa, Kerala, Kaḍera and Pāṇḍya. It is difficult to fix his place of birth on the basis of the rich geographical data, which no doubt eliminate the claim of Southern India, but do not, at the same time, make any positive assertion. It would, therefore, be better to leave over this matter, for want of any definite evidence.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL HISTORY.

The historical value of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya consists in its reference to the Yavana invasion, and the performance of the sacrifice by Puṣyamitra to whom we find repeated references. These citations convey the impression that the Bhāṣyakāra was aware of the political vicissitudes, and he had a hand in the sacrifice performed by the Śuṅga monarch. The history of this period is a record of struggles for supremacy between the Śuṅga and the Yavana monarchs; but the result was indecisive. In the East the Śuṅgas paved the way to the Kāṇvas, while the Śakas ushered in as intruders in the North-West replacing the Indo-Greek rulers. Some Provincial States, probably owing temporary allegiance to the Śungas, also existed in that period. The Āndhras, well-established in the South-East, were preparing to gain ascendancy in the North. The eastern part of India was for some time under the suzerainty of King Khāravela, of Kaliṅga, however, dominated in the East for some time. Thus, it would be interesting to make a detailed and connected study of the history of Northern India from the Śuṅga period up to the beginning of the Christian era.

ANCESTRY OF THE ŚUṄGAS. The foremost question concerning the Śuṅgas is about their ancestry, and the relation of the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

first Śuṅga monarch Puṣyamitra with the last Mauryan Emperor Bṛhadratha. The Brāhmaṇa origin of this Mauryan General, who, according to the Purāṇas[1] and Bāṇa's Harṣacarita[2], assassinated the last Mauryan ruler, while he was reviewing his forces, is referred to in many works. According to Pāṇini,[3] the affix an comes after the Śuṅgas only when the sense is a descendant of the family of Bhāradvāja. He also mentions the other form Śauṅgi. Incidentally the Pravaradarpaṇa mentions Śaunkc, probably a misreading for Śauṅgi as a division of the Parāśaras belonging to the Vasiṣṭha-gotra.[4] The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[5] mentions a teacher named Śauṅgi-putra, while the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa refers to another form Śauṅgāyani. In the Vaṁśa-Brāhmaṇa,[6] the Āśvalāyaṇa-Śrauta Sūtra[7] calls Śuṅgas as teachers. According to the Harivaṁśa, the Brāhmaṇa Senānī, restoring the Aśvamedha sacrifice, is mentioned as a Kāśyapa. The Mālavikāgnimitra[8] speaks of Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra assigns to the Baimbaka Kula which may be a mistake for Baimbaki, also noticed in a Vārttika descending from Bimbaka, who, according to H.A. Shah, should (IV.1.197). M.A. Shah[9] connects the Bimbaka with Bindusāra.

---

1. Puṣyamitras tu senānīr uddhṛtya sa Brhadratham. (c.f. Mat. 272.27. 5; Va 99.337; Brd. iii.74).
2. Senānīr anāryo Mauryam Brhadratham pipeṣa Puṣpamitrah svāminam. p.199 L.1. (Parab's edition).
3. VikarnaŚuṅgacchagalādvatsabhāradvājātriṣu. -IV. 1. 117
4. VI. 4.31.
5. Madagārah Śauṅgāyanih. Indis. Stud. IV. p.383.
6. XII. 13.5; cf. also. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.IV. p.257 f.
7. II. 40.
8. Tawney - Trans. p.69.
9. Proc. Indi. Orient Conf. Madras p.379.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

be connected with the family of Bindusāra. Patañjali[1] also ~~has~~ referred to Baimbakiḥ but ~~he does not, in any way, associate that with the~~ that is not associated with the Śuṅga King. According to the Divyāvadāna[2], Puṣyamitra was the son of Vṛsasena, grandson of Vṛhaspati, and great grandson of Sampadi, son of Kuṇāla. This tradition, therefore, aligns the Śuṅgas with the Mauryas; and, if it were to be believed, the difference between this monarch and Emperor Aśoka should be five generations - a period of about 100 years which ~~is rather~~ seems too much. Bāṇa calls him a base born general (Senānirapnāryaḥ)[3]. Dr. RayChaudhary, citing the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, has suggested that, as the Baimbakayaḥ are distinctly included in the Pravaras and gotras of the list, he was, therefore, a Kāśyapa and not a Bhāradvāja Śuṅga. M. Hara Prasad Śāstrī[4] ~~adopted~~ adopts a different view by associating Puṣyamitra with those turbulent military spirits who had been driven away from Persia by the Greek conquest of that country. The second half of his name - mitra, and that of all the members of his family, according to him, suggest his Persian origin.

Perusing the opinions of different scholars, and the data

---

1. IV. 1.97. p.253,L.5.
2. p.434.
3. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. (IIIrd. ed.) p.252 f.
4. 1. H.Q. Vol. VIII p.739.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

furnished by indigenous sources, one arrives at the conclusion that Puṣyamitra was an Indian. The word Śuṅga is noticed in early Sanskrit literature, and the second half of the name - mitra does not hint at the foreign origin of this Śuṅga monarch. There is a general agreement regarding his Brahmanical ancestry, despite the doubt created by later traditions. As regards his gotra, opinions are sharply divided. Pāṇini's evidence is more authoritative than Harivaṁśa, or the fifth century drama Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa which mentions Agnimitra's gotra. 11 - 9/11

DYNASTIC HISTORY. Evidence from the Purāṇas, relating to the genealogy of the Śuṅgas, does furnish a uniform table, though there are slight variations in the length of reign and, occasionally, in names as well. Pargiter considered the readings in the various Purāṇas, and the following table may be presented with variant readings in names and length of reign, wherever possible.

1. Puṣyamitra[1] - the commander-in-chief and the uprooter of Bṛhadratha - 36 years

---

1. Puṣyamitras tu Senānīr uddhṛtya vai Bṛhadratham Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam samāḥ ṣaṣtim sad-aiva tu (Vāyu) 99.337 (Ānandāśrama ed.)

The reading of the Matsya Purāṇa varies as regards the length of his reign (Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam ṣaṭ-triṁśati samā nṛpaḥ) and not sixty years as in the Vāyu Purāṇa.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

2. Agnimitra[1]	—	8 years.
3. Vasujyeṣṭha[2]	—	7 years.
4. Vasumitra[3]	—	10 years.
5. Āndhraka[4]	—	2 years.
6. Pulinda[5]	—	3 years.
7. Ghoṣa[6]	—	3 years.

---

1. Agnimitraḥ sutas c=āṣṭau bhaviṣyanti samānṛpāḥ. (This line is noticed only in the Vāyu Purāṇa and the Brahmāṇḍa. The former has Puṣpamitra instead of Agnimitra.

2. Bhavita=āpi Vasujyeṣṭhaḥ sapta varṣāṇi vai nṛpaḥ (Mat) The Vāyu has tajjyeṣṭha (cf. also Bhāgavata), but it is Sujyeṣṭha in the Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu Purāṇas.

3. Vasumitraḥ suto bhāvyo daśa varṣāṇi pārthivaḥ. There is no difference in the name or the length of years. The Matsya has Vai tataḥ instead of Pārthivaḥ.

4. tato 'ndhrakaḥ samā dve tu bhaviṣyati sutas ca vai (Vāyu). The name of this ruler varies according to different Purāṇas. According to the Matsya, he is Antaka (L.29), while in the Bhāgavata the name is Bhadraka (Chap. I. L.17 (a). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions the name Ārdraka (IV.24). The correct name seems to be Āndhraka of the Vāyu Purāṇa. The period of his reign was only two years, according to all the Purāṇas.

5. bhaviṣyanti - samās tasmāt tisra eva Pulindakāḥ (Vāyu). The reading of the Matsya is correct. It mentions the name of this ruler Pulindaka, reigning for three years (trīṇi). The Bhāgavata Purāṇa calls him only Pulinda and elides the last ka. The real name is Pulindaka, also mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

6. rājā Ghoṣa sutas c=api varṣāṇi bhavitā trayaḥ (Vāyu). Certain manuscripts, quoted by Pargiter mention his name differently: Yomejha, Yomekha or Momegha which may be a misreading for Ghoṣa quoted in the Bhāgavata and in the Viṣṇu Purāṇas (Ghoṣavasu).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

8. Vajramitra[1]	___	9 years.
9. Bhāgavata[2]	___	32 years.
10. Devabhūmi[3]	___	10 years.
		120 years.

These 10 kings will enjoy this earth for full 112 years. The variant readings of the different Purāṇas pertaining to the subject furnish some interesting details; the most important is the absence of Puṣyamitra's name in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and that of Agnimitra in the Matsya; Sujyeṣṭha in place of Vasujyeṣṭha in the Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu Purāṇas; Āndhraka, spelt as Antaka, in the Matsya; and Bhadraka and Ārdrāka in the Bhāgvata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas respectively. The seventh ruler is also called by different names: Yomegha, Yomekha or Momekha, but his name is missing in the Matsya Purāṇa. The last Śuṅga rulers, Vajramitra (Vikramāmitra,

---

1. bhavitā vajramitras tu samā rājā punarbhavaḥ. (Matsya). According to the Vāyu, the name is Vikramitra. Vajramitra is referred to, both in the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas. The length of his reign is 9 years (navaḥ), though the word mentioned is bhavaḥ (Matsya) or punaḥ, according to Vāyu.

2. dvā-triṁśat tu samābhāgaḥ samābhāgāt tato nṛpaḥ (Matsya). The Vāyu Purāṇa calls this ninth Śuṅga ruler Bhāgavata (L.341) which fact is supported by the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas.

3. bhaviṣyati sutas tasya Devabhūmiḥ samā daśa (Matsya). According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, the name of the last Śuṅga ruler is Kṣemabhūmi. The Bhāgavata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas, however, name him Devabhūti.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

according to the Bhāgavata), Bhāgavata and Devabhūmi (Kṣemabhūmi, according to the Vāyu) do not present much difficulty. The identification of some of the later Śuṅga rulers with those of the Pabhosā records, or the Mitra kings of the Pañcāla, as suggested by some scholars, is postponed for consideration later on. 153 - 13/17

The duration of this dynastic rule varies, though slightly, according to different Purāṇas.[1] The total length of years, counting the individual figures comes to 120 years, but, according to the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas, the total reign is 112 years. (Śatam pūrṇam daśa dve ca), though some manuscripts of the Bhāgavata and one of Viṣṇu mention the duration as only 110 years. The difference of eight years, as we notice, may be partly due to counting the fractional ~~year~~ as one complete year with the result that, when counted according to individual reigns, the period is longer than the actual one. The Pauranic evidence may, therefore, be accepted at its face value, and a period of 112 years be assigned to this dynasty\ 21 - 11/12

PUSYAMITRA - The accession of Puṣyamitra Senāni to power at the expense of his Mauryan master, whom he had murdered, seems to have taken place in about 185 B.C. If the Pauranic evidence is to be believed, the Mauryan dynasty ruled for a period of 137 years (Sapta-triṁśac-chatam pūrṇam); and placing

---

1. Pargiter - Dyn. Kali. Age. p.30 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Candragupta Maurya's accession in about 322 B.C., we naturally arrive at ~~come to~~ this date for Puṣyamitra's accession.[1] According to ~~Dr~~. P.C. Bagci,[2] Puṣyamitra's reign must have started earlier than what is believed, and ended shortly before 175 B.C. though he does not ~~assign~~ suggest any particular date of his accession. Under the circumstances, we find no ground for ~~there is no point in~~ questioning the date given, according to the Purāṇas, for Puṣyamitra and his successors.

The Brāhmaṇa general, who brought about the coup d'état, could not find the Magadhan throne a bed of roses. In fact, the last years of the Mauryan rulers, who were very weak, witnessed the collapse of the vast Aśokan empire in different directions. The advent of the Greeks, particularly Euthydemus

---

1. Sten Konow quoted Jacobi as pointing out that the stanza places the accession of Candragupta in B.C. 312, and that of Puṣyamitra in B.C. 204 while the latter king's rule is stated to have come to an end in B.C. 174. (A.O. Vol.I. p.34).

2. I.H.Q. Vol. XXII p.81 f. In his paper on 'Kṛmiśa and Demetrius', ~~Professor~~ Bagci suggested that Demetrius, identified with Kṛmiśa, was invited by King Damstṛānivāsin - a convert to Buddhism, with a promise to marry his daughter to him, if he joins hands against the foolish anti-Buddhist King Puṣyamitra. The proposal was accepted and after crushing Puṣyamitra with his army under a rock thrown by Kṛmiśa, the young Yakṣa ruler undertook an invasion of India and proceeded as far as Kusumdhvaja; but he subsequently returned because of trouble at home. It is "supposed to be a reference to the struggle between Demetrius and Eucratides which ultimately led to the overthrow of the latter from the Bactrian throne (C.175 B.C.)." He, therefore, suggests that the death of Puṣyamitra a little earlier places on the frontiers made the Greek attack up to Pāṭaliputra facilitating an easy matter.
This account is based on the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a work assigned by Jayaswal to C.770 A.D.(Imperial History of India p.3)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and his successor Demetrius in the Punjab, had brought the Indian king in proximity with the Yavana monarch, and a tie for supremacy was inevitable. The south-west, which, at one time, formed an important seat of the Mauryan empire at Vidisā, was ~~not in a~~ unwilling mood to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Śunga monarch. The first task before the new ruler was to ~~consolidate~~ integrate the loose fabrics, and reclaim the lost portion of the ~~his hold, by keeping as large a portion of the last~~ Mauryan empire ~~as possible under his control~~ to a considerable extent. The chief events of his reign were the settlement of the Vidisā and Vidarbha affair, the invasion of the Yavanas, the performance of two horse sacrifices ~~twice~~, ~~and, according to some scholars, the invasion of Magadha~~ and the probable invasion of Magadha as suggested by some scholars. These events by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. ~~All these events have to be considered separately and the evidence relating to them has to be weighed carefully and with caution.~~ may now be considered after carefully weighing the related evidence.

THE VIDARBHA PROBLEM. The only reference to it is afforded by the Mālavikāgnimitra[1] of Kālidāsa, a drama written about six hundred years ~~later~~ after than the actual occurrence of the event. Though the evidentiary value of this work is not much, firstly, because it is a drama, and secondly, written so many centuries ~~later, it presents a picture of the political events that took place in the earlier part of Puṣyamitra's reign,~~ afterwards, it presents the history of Puṣyamitra's reign in chronological sequence, namely the settlement of the Vidarbha question and the performance of the horse sacrifice after the defeat of the Yavanas. The last two events are also noticed in the Mālavikāgnimitra and in which, ~~in point of sequence, appear to be true. Patañjali has not referred to this affair in the Deccan, but the reference to~~

241

1. Act. I.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~the horse sacrifice in the drama following the settlement of this question, which is evident from the Mahābhāṣya and the~~ As the plot of the Mālavikāgnimitram centres round an historical personality, and is in agreement with the other information from the other two sources relating to the Yavana invasion and the horse sacrifice, we might as well accept Kālidāsa's reference to Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra, as a King and the testimony regarding the Vidarbha problem. In this drama the Agnimitra is mentioned as the king while his father Puṣyamitra is addressed latter as a Senapati. It is, however, not insoluble. The Divyāvadāna[1] includes Puṣyamitra in the list of Mauryan monarchs ruling for sixty years. Dr. R.C. Majumdar[2] suggested that this period included his total duration of power, both as a Senāpati, and as a real ruler. During this period, the viceroyalty of Vidisā might have been conferred on Agnimitra who, probably, ~~assumed a regal status~~ declared himself independant after the extinction of the Mauryan empire.

Vidarbha, corresponding to modern Berar, is referred to in this drama as a new kingdom established not long ago (acirādhiṣṭhita), and the king is described as not having taken roots in the heart of his subjects (rājyaḥ śatruḥ prakṛtiṣv arūdhamūlatvāt), and so his destruction was easy like a tree which is unsteady, because it has been only lately planted (nava saṁrohaṇaśithilas tarur iva sukaraḥ samuddhartum. (Act I. 8). The cause genesis of the trouble is ~~revealed from the~~

---

1. p.433, cf. Burnof: Intro. p.430, Przyluski - Légende d'Aśoka p.90; Lüder's Kalpanāmanditīka p.97.

2. I.H.Q. Vol. I. p.91 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

account given in the letter written by the Vidarbha King who addresses Agnimitra as his royal brother. His cousin Mādhavasena, who had promised to enter into matrimonial alliance with him (evidently Agnimitra), while proceeding to his court, was attacked on the way by one of the wardens of Yajñasena and taken prisoner with his wife and sister. The disappearance of the Princes' sister is regretted by the Vidarbha King in his letter, and he promises to trace her out. The release of Mādhavasena along with his wife is made subject to the condition that the Mauryan Saciva, his own brother-in-law, imprisoned by the Śuṅga monarch is set free.[1]

The task of destroying Yajñasena was entrusted to Vīrasena, a brother of inferior caste (varnāvaro bhrātā) of Queen Dhāriṇī, the Mahiṣī of the King. He was placed by the latter in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of Mandākinī (according to certain manuscripts Nmadātīre -

---

1. Mauryasacivaṁ Vimuñcati yadi pūjyaḥ samyatam mama śyālam mokta Mādhavasenas tato mayā bandhanāt sadyaḥ (Act. I. 7)
This, evidently, suggests that, either there was some matrimonial relation between the Mauryas and the Vidarbha family, or, as supposed by Dr. Raychaudhary, in the Mauryan Court there were two parties or factions, one headed by the King's minister, and the other by his general. The minister's partisan was appointed governor of Vidarbha, while the general's son, Agnimitra, got the viceroyalty of Vidisā. When the general organized his coup d'état, by killing the Mauryan emperor and imprisoning the minister, Yajñasena declared his independence and entered into hostile relations with the usurping family (Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.236 f).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

evidently Narmadā), which is more likely. The result of the conflict is revealed in Act V. The king of Vidarbha is reduced to submission by the king's victorious army, commanded by Vīrasena, and his relation Mādhavasena is released from captivity. An emissary is also despatched by the Vidarbha King to the Śuṅga monarch along with beautiful presents. The king, in return, establishes the two cousins Yajñasena and Mādhavasena as joint rulers, with separate divisions to the north and south of the river Varadā; and the two cousins, upholding the supremacy of their Lord, divided the territory between themselves.[1] The release of the Mauryan Saciva was not a condition precedent to the truce, but, as we find later on in the drama itself, he was released when the good news about the success of Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, was received by his father Agnimitra and a general amnesty was granted.[2]

THE YAVANA INVASION. The next important event of the time of Puṣyamitra, was the Yavana invasion which certainly took place once, but very likely twice. The authenticity of Patañjali's reference to the Yavana Invasion, resulting in the

---

1. dvidhā vibhakttaṁ śriyam udvahantau,
dhuraṁ rathāsvāv iva saṁgrahītuḥ
tau sthāsyatas te nṛpatir nideśe
parasparāvagraha nirvikārau. (Act V. 14).

2. Yajñasenaśyālam Urarikṛtya mucyantāṁ (mocyātāṁ)
sarve bandhanasthā (Act V. p.101).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, is corroborated by the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Samhitā, the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa, and the conjectural reference to the Yavana and Dimita in the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The data from these sources, ~~when pieced together~~ reveal the then condition of Northern India, and the advance of the Yavana forces. The invasion of the Yavanas must have been an event of national importance, witnessed by Patañjali, and quoted by him as an illustration for the use of the imperfect to indicate an action well-known to the people, but not witnessed by the speaker, though possible of being seen by him.[1] The Gārgī Saṁhitā[2] refers to the Yavanas reaching as far as Pātaliputra and occupying it. This Greek invasion covered Sāketa, Pañcāla, Mathurā and the Śuṅga capital Pātaliputra. Internal dissentions, coupled with trouble at home, compelled the Yavanas to retire from Madhyadesa,[3] while, according to the conjectural reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription, a psychological fear consequent to the defeat of Brahaspatimitra at the hands of

---

1. Parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayokturdarśanaviṣaye laṅ vaktavyaḥ Arunadyavanaḥ Sāketam arunadyavano Madhyamikām
III. 2. III p.119. L.45.

2. tataḥ Sāketam ākramya Pañcālān Mathurām tathā
Yavanā duṣṭavikrāntā(:) prāpsyanti kusumdhvajam
tataḥ Puṣpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite
ākulā viṣayāḥ sarve bhaviṣyanti na saṁśayaḥ
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XIV. p.402, Ll.22-25.

3. Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddhadurmadā - ibid., L.42.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Khāravela compelled them to leave Mathurā.[1]

The Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa furnishes certain details regarding the Yavana invasion, and the performance of horse sacrifice which may be considered. Firstly, Agnimitra, son of the Senāpati, had a son, young enough to command the forces backing the horse. Secondly, the defeat of the Yavanas took place at the banks of the Sindhu; and thirdly, Puṣyamitra seems to have performed this horse sacrifice in a befitting manner, as he asks his son in the drama to ward off anger from his mind and join the celebrations along with his wives.[2] The cause of this anger is not revealed, nor has it been ascertained ~~as yet~~ so far. We hope to take this fact into consideration later on, ~~when we~~ while discussing the probability of two horse sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch. Now, ~~reverting back to the main theme regarding~~ as regards the Yavana invasion, mentioned by Kālidāsa, is it identical with the one mentioned by Patañjali, and noticed in the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā, and the Hāthīgumphā inscription? If so, then ~~it~~ did it happen in the early years of Puṣyamitra's reign ~~and~~ or ~~not~~ at a considerably later time? The identity of the Yavana ruler with Demetrius ~~could hardly~~ is not be possible in the latter case, ~~for, according to Dr. Tarn,~~ because[3] his period of

---

1. Cf. Jayaswal's Reading. - J.B.O.R.S. Vol.III. p.425 f.
2. tad idānīm akālahīnaṁ vigataroṣacetasā bhavatā badhūjanena saha yajñasevanāya āgantavyam iti - Act V. p.100.
3. ~~Greeks in Bactria and India p.133.~~

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

activity, according to Tarn extended between B.C. 184 and 167 as ~~their~~ the terminal points with the presumption that the occupation of Pāṭaliputra took place in C.175 B.C.

Now, it ~~appears~~ is probable that there were two Yavana invasions, as mentioned by Apollodorus,[1] ~~but~~ and both ~~seem to have occurred~~ took place during the reign of Puṣyamitra which was a fairly long one extending over a period of 36 years. The first one seems to have taken place in the earlier part of his reign, and here one may ~~like to~~ agree with Dr. Tarn who worked out the dates on the basis of Greek sources. At this time Puṣyamitra ~~seems to have given way, though temporarily, in case we take the evidence, furnished by the Yuga-Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṃhitā, as authentic.~~ Capitulated. Probably he purchased peace ~~after finding his resources exhausted, and gave free hand to the Yavanas.~~ for some reason or the other This pusillanimity on the part of his father, or ~~something else~~ some other misunderstanding, might have been the cause of Agnimitra's anger with the result that he ~~alienated~~ Cut off all relations with ~~the centre, and declared his independence as a king with his seat at Vidiśā.~~ his father and retained his independent status and seat at Vidisa. As the Yavanas had to leave because of internal dissentions necessitating Demetrius' immediate attention, Puṣyamitra got an opportunity to regain his lost prestige. The liberation of the country, ~~which might have been rather voluntary~~ as a result of voluntary withdrawal of the Greeks., impelled the Śuṅga monarch to perform his first horse sacrifice.[2] Incidentally ~~Curiously~~, one notices

---

1. Greeks in Bactria and India p 133.
2. Strabo. XI. 516.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya the Yavana invasion is cited as an illustration earlier than the sacrifice for Puṣyamitra..

~~the reference to the Yavana invasion earlier than the one referring to the sacrifice for Puṣyamitra in the Mahābhāṣya.~~

Some ~~misunderstanding~~ aversion seems to have crept in between Puṣyamitra and his son for reasons - political or personal, which could not be removed for long.

The second Yavana invasion probably took place during the later years of Puṣyamitra's reign, when Menander, ~~who, according to Tarn,~~ was at first the commander of forces in Demetrius' army, marched towards the Mid-land country (Madhya-deśa). The coins of this ruler were found as far as Yamunā[2] and he is better known in Indian history than Demetrius. Menander may have succeeded in keeping hold over some portion of the ~~eastern~~ Punjab, with ~~and it seems likely that he had to content himself with~~ his capital at Sāgala. The attempt of the Yavanas to contest ~~take up arms against~~ the Śuṅgas, while the sacrificial horse was moving, ~~ended in failure~~ completely failed; and the latter were fortunate ~~had better luck~~ this time. It appears that Kālidāsa in his drama refers to this horse sacrifice, probably performed after the defeat of the Yavanas. Puṣyamitra had good ground to patch up differences with his eldest son Agnimitra, for the feat was accomplished by the latter's son; and the invitation to attend the ceremony along with the wives, was in consonance accordance with the desire of the aged father to mend ~~bring~~

---

1. ~~Ref~~ op. cit. p.140.
2. Num. chro. 1872 p.159; I.A. Vol. XXXIII. 1904, p.217.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

matters Can be multiplied to prove that
~~his son round.~~ Instances ~~are not rare in history, where the~~ composes filial feeling ultimately ~~patches up the~~ differences between the father and his son.

In connection with the Yavana invasion, we may also consider the data, if any, furnished by the Hāthigumphā inscription, and interpreted by numerous scholars. K.P. Jayaswal, ~~making corrections in the inscription published in the same Journal,~~[1] ~~evidently, tried to~~ restored the letters after the 'Yavanarāja'. He read ~~the letters~~ them as Dimita whom he identified with Demetrius,[2] which was accepted by the late R.D. Banerjee and Sten Konow.[3] He translated line 8 as follows:- "on account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i.e. the capture of the Goratha-giri-fortress and the siege of Rājagṛha etc., mentioned in the last sentence), the Greek King Demet(rios), drawing in his army and transport, returned to abandon Mathurā." Jayaswal also referred to ~~The late Bihar Barrister also recalled~~ the information given by the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā that the Yavanas, after taking Sāketa, Pañcāla and Mathurā, were marching towards Kusumdhvaja. "In the same place in a subsequent śloka," wrote Jayaswal, "which was not cited and translated by Kern, Dharmamita is mentioned, which seems to me to

---

1. J B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII. p.227 and Refs.
2. Ibid., p.221.
3. A.O. Vol. I. p.27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

refer to Demetrios."[1]

If we accept the views of Jayaswal, then this Yavana invasion and the subsequent retreat of the Greeks, must be associated with the first invasion which took place in the earlier years of Puṣyamitra's reign. Now, the acceptance of this ~~contention is subject~~ View depends on to two ~~conditions~~ factors - namely the correct reading of line 8, and the identification of this Greek ruler with Demetrius. As regards the first point B.M. Barua[2] made it clear in the preface to his old "Brāhmī inscriptions" that "the inscription (Hāthigumphā) contains no statement as to the Greek King Dimita - Demetrios retracing with his troops and transport to abandon Mathurā." He further suggested that there was no reference, whatsoever, to the Greek King (Yavanarāja), far from mentioning his name. ~~A perusal~~ Perusing ~~of~~ the estampage, published in the 'Journal,' ~~makes one feel~~ one has reason to ~~doubtful about~~ suspect Jayaswal's correct reading, and ~~it would not be worthwhile working on surmises~~ he feels that he is led astray by unconscious speculation. Dr. Tarn in an appendix on 'Demetrius in the Hāthigumphā inscription',[3] has boldly pointed out that "the decipherment was conjectural affording no firmer ground to the historian, but it may be right about the fact of withdrawl, even though the reason be wrongly given." Citing

---

1. ~~Ref~~. ~~41~~. p.229. op. cit
2. p.xii.
3. p.459.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sten Konow's views that, "if the inscription of Khāravela really mentions Demetrius (note the if), then he was the king of the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā mentioned by Patañjali, which would mean (among other things) that it was he and not Menander who led the Greek advance south-eastward and he and not Apollodotus who led the Greek advance southward of Sindh. Had the relations between Demetrius and his lieutenants ever been worked out, such a theory would never have been put forward."

It, however, appears that the Hāthigumphā inscription furnishes no evidence regarding either some Yavanarāja or Dimita identified with Demetrius.

AŚVAMEDHA SACRIFICES:- The reference to a horse sacrifice by the Senāpati Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, is traced in the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa,[1] but the Ayodhyā inscription[2] refers to two horse sacrifices performed by the Śuṅga monarch. (Kosalādhipena dviraśvamedha-yājinaḥ senāpateḥ Puṣyam(i) trasya L.1). Patañjali mentions Yajña being performed for Puṣyamitra (iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ).[3] The epigraphic evidence is to be considered as authentic, and it is generally accepted by scholars that the Śuṅga monarch performed two horse sacrifices, but the question is when? According to

---

1. Act V. p.100 - Yo 'sau Rajasūyayajñadīkṣitena
2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. X. p.202 f. and Ref.
3. III. 2. 123 p.123 l.4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Patañjali, if the illustrations in his commentary on the sūtras be in time sequence, the reference to invasion of the Yavanas resulting in the siege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā precedes the one mentioning ~~reference to~~ the performance of sacrifice for Puṣyamitra. It, therefore, appears that after the Yavanas had left, and the country was liberated, Puṣyamitra performed the sacrifice, but it was not as befitting or glorious as the second one after the defeat of the Yavanas.

Certain scholars have associated the performance of these sacrifices with other events. K.P. Jayaswal[1] had suggested that Puṣyamitra performed the second horse sacrifice to vindicate his position after he had suffered humiliation at the hands of Khāravela. According to Dr. H.C. Raychaudhary,[2] the two horse sacrifices were performed after the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas. D.R. Bhandarkar[3] presupposed suggested that the first Aśvamedha sacrifice coincided with the besiege of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and the second invasion seems to be adverted to in the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā. As regards the second one, he pointed out that after the western-most part of the Āryāvarta was seized upon and annexed to the Greek kingdom of Menander, when things settled down, Puṣyamitra, despite the loss of a small territory, celebrated his Aśvamedha

---

1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. X. p.205.
2. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.267.
3. I.C. Vol. I. p.279.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Yajña which appears to be the same as referred to by Kālidāsa in his Mālavikāgnimitra.

Regarding the Vidarbha ~~affair~~ problem, it is pointed out in this drama that King Agnimitra sent his forces and brought Yajñasena to his feet, and this affair ended with ~~culminating in~~ the division of ~~his~~ the kingdom. It may have been done according to his instructions, or on behalf of his father, for which there is no evidence; but surely it was not an event of national importance which required the performance of a horse sacrifice. The great danger was from the north-west. Regarding Khāravela, it will be shown later on that he was not a contemporary of Puṣyamitra, as assumed by some scholars, and Jayaswal's views are hardly tenable in the face of the available evidence is untenable. [1] It ~~was~~ has been suggested by Dr. R.C.Majumdar that the performance of horse sacrifice was to establish his claim to the Magadhan throne, both as a defacto and a dejure ruler. Puṣyamitra must have taken some time before he could undertake such a venture. The logical presumption ~~What appears logical~~ is, that the liberation of the country from the hold of the Yavanas, though done voluntarily, coincided with the first horse sacrifice, while the second one followed the defeat of Menander in the life time of the Śunga monarch, as mentioned by Kālidāsa.

THE SUPPOSED INVASION OF KING KHĀRAVELA. The Hāthigumphā inscription has baffled historians for a long time. It is

---

1. I.H.Q. Vol. I part I, p.91

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

supposed to furnish some information on the retreat of the Yavanas, but it definitely refers to the defeat of the king of Magadha. Some scholars have worked out the relations between Puṣyamitra and this ruler on the basis of certain data from this inscription. The first passage -'Panamtariya-saṭhi-vasa-sate rāja-Muriya Kāle Vocchine' was construed by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji[1] to mean "the eighth year in which Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga and when this era was possibly founded". It corresponds to B.C. 255 and therefore the date in the inscription, when Khāravela did certain works in the Udaigiri caves, is 165 Maurya or B.C. 255 - 165 = 90 B.C. As this is the thirteenth year of Khāravela's accession, 103 B.C. be marked as his year of accession. Bühler[2] adopted Indraji's views regarding the thirteenth year of Khāravela corresponding to the 165th year of the Mauryan era, which according to him, began with the coronation of Candragupta between 322-312 B.C., and he, ~~accordingly~~ placed, ~~dated~~ Khāravela's accession between 170 and 160 B.C.

According to Fleet,[3] the passage nowhere refers to any date. Panamtariya could not mean 'sixty five', though it might mean 'seventy five' in that way. It represented Sanskrit

---

1. Congrès de Leyden, 1883, III. p.135.
2. E.I. Vol. II. p.88 f.; 824 f.
3. J.R.A.S. 1910 p.242 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

- Prajñāptarya; and further Vocchino or Vocchimme could not correspond to Sanskrit Vicchina, but is the well-known Jain technical term Vocchinna = Vyavacchinnāni, applied to sacred texts which have been "cut off, interrupted, or neglected". The use of this term prohibits the reference to any date in the record. This contention of Fleet was endorsed by Luders[1] and Charpentier,[2] though the views of the Bombay scholar found favour with Banerjee (R.D.), and K.P. Jayaswal[3] with differences in reading. The views of these two Indian scholars were supported by Vincent Smith,[4] Dubreuil[5] and Aiyar,[6] but opposed by Dr. R.C. Majumdar[7] and R.P. Chanda[8] on the ground that Khāravela, being a Cetā, could not naturally be expected to have used the Mauryan era; and that palaeographic considerations point to the first half of the first century B.C. as Khāravela's date. Leaving aside the sculptural piece of evidence, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall,[9] which belongs

---

1. E.I. Vol. X. appendix pp.160-1 No.1345.
2. I.A. 1914, p.170 n.
3. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III p.425 f; and subsequent references.
4. J.R.A.S. 1918 p.543 f.; 1919 p.399.
5. Anc. His. of the Deccan - 1920, p.12.
6. I.A. 1920, p.43 f.
7. I.A. 1918, p.223 f; 1919, p.187 f.
8. I.A. 1919, p.214 f.; J.R.A.S. 1919, f. 395 f.
9. C.H.I. Vol. I p.624 f; 638 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to a considerably late period, we may confine the discussion ourselves exclusively to the interpretation of the passage. Sten Konow[1] had also contended that King Khāravela, who was not a Maurya, would not date his epigraph in the Maurya era, the less so, because the rule of the Mauryas had ceased before his time.

The other passage supposed to furnish some date is in line 6. Pamcame ca dāni vase Namdarāja - ti-vasa-sata - oghāṭitam Tanasuliya-vāṭā panādim nagaram pavesayati (') Sata-(Saha)-Sehi ca (Khanā) pa (yati). The expression ti-vasa-sata may mean 103 years or 300 years after Namdarāja - King Nanda. According to Jayaswal,[2] it should mean 300 years; and he placed Khāravela and Puṣyamitra three centuries after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. Dr. Ray-Chaudhary[3] objected to this identification on the ground that Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga King, and the Śaiśunāgis do not appear to have done anything in Kaliṅga. This Nandarāja should be identified with Mahāpadma or one of his sons, as the conqueror of Kaliṅga. Taking ti-vasa-sata in the sense of 300 years, it is easy to conclude that the rise of Khāravela, probably synchronised with the fall of the Śuṅga dynasty and the consequent weakening of the Magadhan power.

---

1. Ref. cit. p.17.
2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XIII. p.253.
3. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. 3rd. ed. p.257.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The identification of this Nandarāja was opposed by Barua[1] in view of the conclusive statements from the Aśokan Rock Edict XIII - that the Mauryan Emperor was the first amongst the Indian kings, reigning after the demise of Buddha, to conquer the unconquered land of Kaliṅga (avijitaṁ vijinitum). He suggested two alternatives either to identify Nandarāja with Aśoka, and assign Khāravela's accession in the second quarter of the 1st century A.D., interpreting ti-vasa-sata in the sense of 300 years, or by identifying him with Śiśunandi or Yaśonandi who snatched away Vidisā from the Śunga dominions at the fall of the Śuṅga power, and assign Khāravela's accession to the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. interpreting ti-vasa-sata in the sense of 103 years.

Now, whether we interpret the expression as 300 or 103 deducing it from the era, or supposed event, dating from the time of Mahāpadma Nanda, or the accession of Candragupta Maurya or Aśoka, the Kaliṅga hero in no way becomes the contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. Scholars, especially K.P. Jayaswal and others who followed him, have identified Bṛhaspatimitra with Puṣyamitra on the flimsiest ground that Bṛhaspati is the regent of the Nakṣatra or Zodical asterism,— Puṣyā, also called Tiṣyā, in the constellation cancer or the crab. The association of Bṛhaspati with Puṣyā cannot be a safeground for the identifi-

---

1. Op. cit. p.281.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

cation of the defeated Magadhan ruler with the performer of the two horse sacrifices. The Palaeography of the Hāthigumphā record is an evidence pointing to its later character. A number of letters with thick headed vertical or serif ka with the lower part of the vertical prolonged, invariably round ga, cha of the butterfly type, with two loops, and ta having in most cases rounded lower part, help us in determining the approximate age of this record. According to R.P. Chanda,[1] the Hāthigumphā inscription, is later in date not only than Aśoka's edicts, and the Besnagar Garuda pillar inscriptions, but also is posterior to ~~later than~~ the Bhārhut toraṇa inscription and the Nānāghāt inscription of the Āndhra King Śrī Śātakarṇi I.

Analysing the evidence, furnished by the coins, there is hardly any ground for identifying Bahastimitra with Puṣyamitra, because the former belongs to that group of rulers which included Agnimitra whose coins have also been found. According to ~~Professor~~ Allan,[2] the coins of Bṛhaspatimitra II (Bahastimitasa), Agnimitra (Agimitasa), and Jyeṣṭhamitra (Jeṭhamitasa) form the next group and are closely connected. He has clearly pointed out that, "Bṛhaspatimitra (evidently) of this group is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription, while the epigraphy of the Pabhosā inscription agrees very well with that of Bṛhaspati Mitra II's coins. It appears probable

---

1. I. H.Q. Vol. V. p.599.
2. Cat. of coins. Anc. Ind. p.xcvi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that ~~such~~ the ~~a~~ person ~~who~~ issued coins, was different from the one defeated by Khāravela; ~~but this~~ and it is certain that ~~under no circumstances could he~~ the latter cannot be identified with Puṣyamitra, ~~and~~ this fact is well-supported from different standpoints.

PUṢYAMITRA'S SUCCESSORS:- According to some Purāṇas, after a rule of 36 years, Puṣyamitra was succeeded by Agnimitra; but the name of this successor is not noticed in the Matsya and Vāyu Purāṇas, and the next in order is Vasu-jyeṣṭha.[1] The two lines from the Vāyu and the Matsya Purāṇas furnish some interesting evidence which was taken into consideration by Jayaswal in building up an hypothesis. Puṣyamitra, according to the late ~~Bihar Barrister~~ Jayaswal, divided his empire into sub-kingdoms, as he interpreted Kārayiṣyati vai rājyam; and his eight sons ruled ~~equally~~ jointly. (Puṣpamitra-Sutās ca=āstau bhaviṣyanti samā nṛpāḥ.[2] It is further implied that Vasujyeṣṭha alias Sujyeṣṭha was the eldest. As regards Kārayiṣyati in the Puranic text, ~~according to Pargiter~~, Pargitter noticed another form[3], ~~it is~~ Kariṣyati in a manuscript, denoting plain future rather than causative. Samā should stand for years and not equal, and aṣṭha, evidently, means "eight", and not "eight sons", as presumed by Jayaswal. The point worth consideration is the absence of Agnimitra's name. If we count the individual reigns

---

1. ~~Ref~~ Op. cit.
2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. X. p.202 f. & Vol. XV. p.583.
3. Mt: jmt. ~~Ref~~ Op. cit. p.31, No.6.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of all the Śuṅga monarchs, the total duration comes to 120 years, but, according to the Purāṇas, it is only 112 years. (śatam pūrṇam śate dve). This is easily explained by Pargiter as due to the reckoning factors of years as whole years. This explanation may fit in well, but the reason is to be found in the absence of Agnimitra's name in the lists furnished by the two Purāṇas. It can be conjectured that Puṣyamitra had two sons: Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra. Vasu, the elder, was in the capital as heir apparent, while Agnimitra was the Viceroy at Vidisā. The fraternal jealousy, so common in the princes of blue blood, might have been an additional cause of his anger, which is clear from the father's letter to his son mentioned in the Mālavikāgnimitra. To patch up the differences Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, was appointed commander of the forces. It appears probable that after Puṣyamitra's death, his sons Vasujyeṣṭha and Agnimitra ruled concurrently - the former with his capital at Pāṭaliputra and the latter at Vidisā. According to the Viṣnu-Purāna,[1] Vasumitra is the son of Sujyeṣṭha, also evident from the Vāyu Purāṇa[2] (though in the Matsya it is tathā and not sutā). This contradicts the evidence furnished by the drama of Kālidāsa. Under these circumstances, either we identify

---

1. Wilson - IV. 24.
2. 99.330. Ānandāśrama ed. p.383, 11. 38.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Agnimitra with Sujyeṣṭha-Vasujyeṣṭha, but that disturbs the chronological list, or accept the reading ~~furnished by~~ of the Matsya Purāṇa[1] which does not identify the two. It would be advisable to presume that the two brothers ruled at the same time, and the ~~eldest possibly~~ elder one probably died without leaving any issue, so the nephew succeeded his uncle; and after his father's death he combined the two kingdoms of Pātaliputra and Vidisā. There is no indication of the joint rule, as suggested by Jayaswal. He contended[2] which ~~was maintaining separate existence. The political history of this period is entirely unknown.~~ Jayaswal's ~~contention that~~ Sugānamraje in the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti, evidently, suggests 'the rule of the Śuṅgas', because this is in genitive plural, ~~does not carry much weight in support of his theory regarding the joint rule of Puṣyamitra and his sons.~~ but there is no evidence to warrant his suggestion. The expression appears to be very common, referring probably to the empire of the Śuṅgas. Moreover, there is ~~hardly any evidence to suggest that the~~ no reason to place this record of Dhanabhūti ~~should be associated with~~ in the time of Puṣyamitra.

Nothing is known about Vasujyeṣṭha who ~~Pargiter~~ is placed third in the list; but about Agnimitra, it has been suggested by some scholars[3] that, he should be identified with the ruler of the same name whose coins have been found mostly in Rohilkhand.[4] Cunningham doubted the identity of this ruler

---

1. 27.2.27 f. Ānandāśrama ed. p.553, ll. 28.
2. ~~Ref~~ 6b. cit. p.202.
3. ~~Ref~~. I.H.Q. Vol. VIII. 1932, p.549 f. and Refs.
4. Coins of Ancient India, p.79 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

with the Śuṅga monarch, and suggested that he ~~was~~ probably ~~a ruler of~~ belonged to a local dynasty of Northern Pañcāla, because his name alone agrees with the Pauranic list, and not of others; ~~This is not true in cases of other Mitra Kings whose coins have been found;~~ and secondly, ~~because~~ the circulation of this coins was confined within the limits of Northern Pañcāla. The first point was controverted by Rivett-Carnac,[1] and Jayaswal,[2] followed by a ~~good~~ many other scholars, who ~~tried to identify several coin-~~ suggested that several others could be identified, as for example. ~~names~~ besides ~~that of~~ Agnimitra ~~with the Pauranic list e.g.~~, Jeṭhamitra ~~with~~ Vasujyeṣṭha or Su-jyeṣṭha (simply called Jyeṣṭha in the K. Visnu manuscript), Bhadraghoṣa with Ghoṣa, and Bhūmimitra with the Kāṇva King of that name. According to Dr. RayChaudhary,[3] 'several names cannot be identified, but they may have been names of those Śuṅgas who survived the usurpation of Vāsudeva Kāṇva and the remnant of whose power was destroyed by the Āndhra (? Bhṛtya)s and Śiśunandi'. Regarding the circulation and finds of these coins, it has been suggested that Mitra coins were found at Kauśāmbī, Ayodhyā, and Mathurā, as well as, in Pañcāla. Names of two Mitra Kings, Brahmamitra and Indra Mitra are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā, as well as, on coins discovered at Mathurā

---

1. J.A.S.B. 1880, p.21 f.
2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III. p.477.
3. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.269.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and Pañcāla.[1] Dr. RayChaudhary suggested that in the face of these facts it is difficult to say that the Mitras were a local dynasty of North Pañcāla.

The authority on this point is Professor Allan, who has closely studied the coins of Ancient India, and his views, based on a comparative study of the coins of all the dynastic rulers, should be given due weight. It is pointed out earlier that the Mitra coins, found at North Pañcāla in Rohilkhand, suggest the existence of a separate local dynasty, quite distinct from the Śuṅga family. It is, however, overlooked by Jayaswal and others that if we identify Agnimitra of the coins with the Śuṅga King, then what about the other Śuṅga rulers? Did they not issue coins? Further, it is clear that Agnimitra was a ruler at Vidisā, as pointed out by Kālidāsa, but curiously enough such Pañcāla coins of his name are not found there, nor at Pātaliputra. One or two stray coins, if found anywhere, do not suggest the established authority of that ruler over that region. It was generally the pilgrims who brought them. Moreover, names with -mitra suffixes were very common, and if certain rulers had those names, surely that would not be a reasonable ground for identifying them with the famous Śuṅga

---

1. C.H.I. Vol. I. p.526.
According to Rapson, Brahmamitra, King of Mathurā, was probably a contemporary of King Indramitra of Ahicchatra, for both the names are noticed in the dedicatory inscription of queens on the railing pillars at Bodh Gayā which are assigned by archaeologists to the earliest part of the first century B.C.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

rulers. One may, however, share Dr. RayChaudhary's views that the Pañcāla rulers may have been the remnants of the Śuṅga family of Puṣyamitra after the last ruler of this dynasty was killed by the Kāṇva usurper Vāsudeva. We shall, however, deal with this point further when we take the local dynasties into consideration.

VASUMITRA AND OTHER ŚUṄGA RULERS: Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, appears fourth in the Pauranic list. He was well-known, as the hero of the second Aśvamedha sacrifice, performed by his grandfather. His career is shrouded in mystery except for the reference to the defeat of the Yavanas, at the hands of the young prince on the bank of the Sindhu (Kālī Sindhu in Central India) was the only important ~~event in his career about which we know. The rest of his period, as a ruler, is covered with mystery.~~ According to the Purāṇas, he ruled for a period of ten years, and was succeeded by Antaka or Bhadraka, according to the Matsya and Bhagavata Puranas respectively. ~~and Bhadraka in the Bhāgavata Purāṇas.~~ He is named Ārdraka or Odruka in the Viṣnu Purāṇa. ~~The~~ identity of ~~this ruler was established by Jayaswal~~ Jayaswal established the identity with Udāka mentioned in a Pabhosā inscription in the Allahabad district.[1] It would be proper ~~appropriate~~ to consider the genealogical table, as drawn by Führer[2] on the basis of the Pabhosā record, and then try to suggest the identification of this ruler.

---

1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III. p.474.

2. E. I. Vol. II. p.243.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

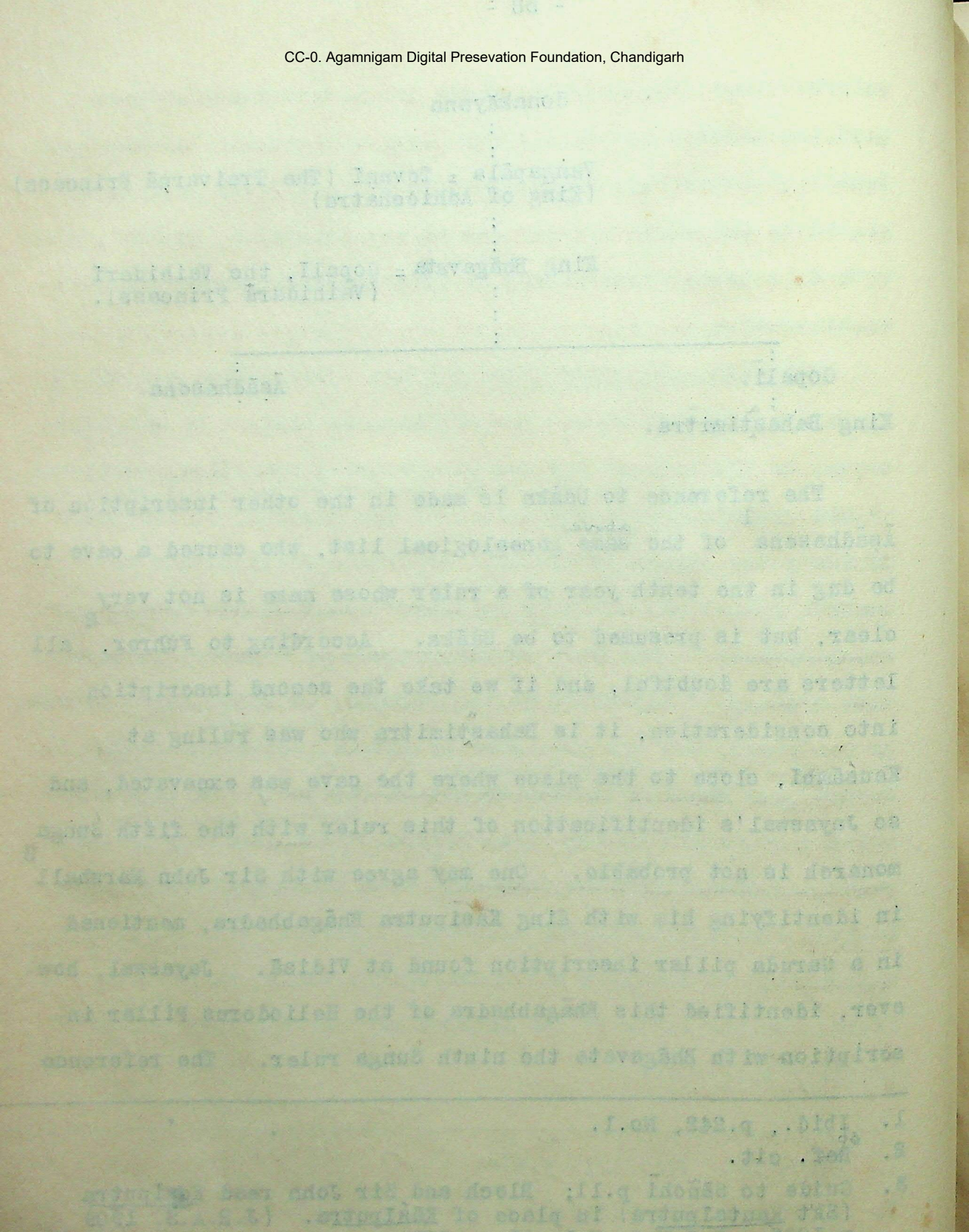
Sonakāyana
:
:
Vaṅgapāla = Tevaṇī (The Traivarṇā Princess)
(King of Adhicchatra)
:
:
King Bhāgavata = Gopalī, the Vaihidarī
(Vaihidarā Princess).
:
:

Gopalī. — Āṣāḍhasena.
:
King Bahasatimitra.

The reference to Udāka is made in the other inscription of Āṣāḍhasena[1] of the ~~same~~ above genealogical list, who caused a cave to be dug in the tenth year of a ruler whose name is not very clear, but is presumed to be Udāka. According to Führer,[2] all letters are doubtful, and if we take the second inscription into consideration, it is Bahasatimitra who was ruling at Kauśāmbī, close to the place where the cave was excavated, and so Jayaswal's identification of this ruler with the fifth Śuṅga monarch is not probable. One may agree with Sir John Marshall[3] in identifying him with King Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, mentioned in a Garuḍa pillar inscription found at Vidisā. Jayaswal, however, identified this Bhāgabhadra of the Heliodorus Pillar inscription with Bhāgavata the ninth Śuṅga ruler. The reference

1. Ibid., p.242, No.1.
2. ~~Ref.~~ op. cit.
3. Guide to Sāñchī p.11; Bloch and Sir John read Kaṣīputra (Skt Kautsīputra) in place of Kāśīputra. (J.R.A.S. 1909 p.1055; Z.D.M.G. Vol. 63, p.589.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to a different Mahārāja Bhāgavata in another Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription,[1] thus distinguishes Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra from the latter, and so the identity of the fifth ruler with the contemporary of Antialkidas be established. The reign of this ruler is notable for the diplomatic and cultural relations between the King of Vidisā and his Greek contemporary.

Bhadraka's successors are unknown except in names, found in the Pauranic list, but the ninth ruler Bhāgavata ruled for a period of 32 years.[2] He is identified by ~~Dr~~. Bhandarkar with the Mahārāja Bhāgavata, mentioned in one of the Besnagar inscriptions. The last ruler was Devabhūti who was overthrown, according to the Purāṇas after a reign of ten years by his amātya Vāsudeva.[3] This last Śuṅga ruler, probably young in age, lost his life ~~consequent~~ owing to his lustful habits. According to Bāṇa,[4] the over libidinous Śuṅga was bereft of his life by his amātya Vāsudeva through the help of a daughter of Devabhūti's slave woman disguised as his queen. The Śuṅgas thus paved way for the Kāṇvas, as their predecessor had attained the Mauryan

---

1. J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIII p.144; A.S.I.A.R. 11. 7 .....Bhāgavate Mahārāje" 1913-4, p.190.
2. Quoted in Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.272.
3. Pargiter ~~Ref~~ Op. cit. p.33.

   Amātyo Vāsudevas tu bālyād vyasaninam nṛpam
   Devabhūmim ath=otsādya śauṅgas tu bhavitā nṛpaḥ
4. Cowell & Thomas, p.193.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

empire. They, no doubt, lost Magadha, but it seems that the Śuṅga princes continued to exist in other parts of the empire, for another half a century, when the Āndhras completely ~~swept~~ eliminated the last remnants of the Brahmanic regal family. According to Dr. RayChaudhary,[1] after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Śiśukha (Simukha of the inscriptions) annexed Purikā, but placed Vidisā under his maternal relations.

KĀṆVAS:- The Kāṇvāyanas, also known as the Śuṅgabhṛtyas, are mentioned in the Purāṇas,[2] as the successors of the Śuṅgas. The minister Vāsudeva, ~~the minister~~, forcibly overthrew the dissolute King Devabhūti, and became the king among the Śuṅgas (Śuṅgeṣu bhavitā nṛpaḥ). This Kāṇva king ruled for nine years (nava Kāṇvāyano dvijaḥ). His son Bhūmimitra is assigned 14 years (Bhūmimitraḥ sutas tasya caturdaśa bhaviṣyati). The last two kings - Nārāyaṇa and his son Suśarman, are given 12 and 10 years respectively. (Nārāyaṇaḥ sutas tasya bhavitā dvādaś=aiva tu - Suśarmā tat-sutas c=āpi bhaviṣyati daś=aiva tu). These, remembered as Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇvāyana Kings, are apportioned a total period of 45 years. It is also mentioned in the Purāṇas that they will have the neighbouring kings in subjection and will be righteous. The last lines ~~furnish~~ suggest some

---

1. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.272.

2. A Mt. 272. 32.37^{b}; Va. 99. 343.7^{b}; Bd. iii, 74,156-160$^{b a}$. cf. also V.S. IV, 24.12; Bh. XII. I. 19 - 21. Ref. Pargiter, p.33.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~interesting political data.~~ ~~They refer~~ ~~to~~ the existence of other rulers as well in the Madhyadeśa, who were probably owing allegiance to ~~acknowledging the suzerainty of~~ the Kāṇvas, and secondly, these Kāṇvāyana kings ruled righteously, probably because the political situation was easy. The period covered by this dynasty is unaccountable in Ancient Indian History. Unfortunately, ~~no~~ coins of none of these rulers have been found which could throw some light, at least, on the extension of their empire. It, however, witnessed the disintegration of the Śuṅga empire into small local states some of which probably recognized the Magadhan supremacy, though they issued their own coins. It is just possible that this process of ~~disintegration~~ break up may have started earlier than presumed. Despite the absence of inscriptional and numismatic data, the scanty material at our disposal furnishes proof of the existence of small states of Pañcāla, Vatsa with its centre at Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Vidisā; the Indo-Greeks, well-established in the North-west with their capital at Sāgala-Sialkot, and Khāravela in Kaliṅga.

KINGDOM OF PAÑCĀLA. Ancient tribal coins, found at Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, and Mathurā refer to several dynastic rulers who were either contemporaries of the Śuṅgas, or came to power with the ~~disintegration~~ crumbling of the Brahmanical empire. A study of their coins engaged the attention of many scholars[1]

---

1. I. H.Q. Vol. VIII p.549 f. for all previous reference. Recently T.P. Bhattacarya also made an attempt to co-

(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

within the last half a century or more. The names of rulers in different groups suggest that these dynasties continued to exist for a fairly long period. The Pañcāla group, as for example, includes as many as 13 rulers whose coins have generally been found in the Rohilkhand division. According to Cunningham,[1] the findspots of these coins were Ahicchatra, Aonla and Budaon, and their circulation was confined only to North Pañcāla. While considering the identity of these Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅgas, he rightly pointed out that, "the assignment is uncertain, as only one of the coin-names, Agnimitra, is found in the Pauranic list of the Śuṅgas". Therefore, he was inclined to assign the coins to a local dynasty, since they were rarely found beyond the limits of North Pañcāla, which would not have been the case if they belonged to the paramount dynasty of the Śuṅgas. The reference to Agnimitra, son of Puṣyamitra in the Mālavikāgnimitra, as King of Vidiśā on the Vetravatī, led Cunningham to conclude that the Śuṅgas were rulers of Eastern Malwa, distinct from those of the Pañcāla group.

---

relate the kings bearing the title 'Mitra' whose coins have been found in various places of Northern India. Hardly any new piece of evidence is adduced, and the reshuffling of the data does not advance our knowledge on this point. Ref. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XXXV-pts. I & II - 1949 p.47 f.

1. Coins of Ancient India, p.75. Smith found them common in the Bareli district (Cat. Col. Mus p 184). While the coins are found in a wider area than Cunningham first stated, there is no doubt that their main source was Ahicchatra from where Revetta Carnac also obtained considerable number and variety of such coins.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This view was not accepted by some scholars[1] who tried to show that several coin-names, besides that of Agnimitra, could be identified with those of the Śuṅga names as mentioned in the Purāṇas; and secondly, Mitra coins were also found at Ayodhyā and Mathurā. According to Rapson,[2] the coins under this heading have usually been attributed to the Sunga or Mitra dynasty. He pointed out that "the formation of the names which generally end in -mitra is similar in either case; and the Śuṅga period, inferred from the Purāṇas, B.C. 176-66, is that of the style and epigraphy of the coins". He noticed some connection between these coins and the Mitra coins found at Ayodhyā.

K.P. Jayaswal[3] identified the Pañcāla rulers with the Śuṅga and Kāṇva kings in the following order:-

1.	Bahasati-Mitra	--	Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.
2.	Agnimitra	--	Agnimitra "
3.	Bhānumitra	--	Vasumitra "
4.	Jeṭhamitra (or Sūrya-mitra)	--	Vasujyeṣṭha or Sujyeṣṭha "
5.	Ghoṣa and Bhadraghoṣa (occasionally misread as Aśvaghoṣa).	--	Ghoṣavasu or Ghoṣa "

---

1. ~~Ref. 97~~. Op. cit
2. Indian Coins p.13.
3. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III. p.479.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

6. Indra-mitra - - Vajramitra Śuṅga

7. Deva-mitra - - Devabhūti "

8. Bhūmi-mitra - - Bhūmimitra Kāṇva
(This coin, being the latest of the Mitra coins, shows that apparently the Kāṇvas followed the style of the Śuṅga Kings).

Without considering the merit of Jayaswal's identification it may be pointed out here that the list identified is neither complete from the Pauranic side, nor does it bring out the names of all the Pañcāla rulers. According to ~~Professor~~ Allan[1] - the Pañcāla rulers, whose coins were found with inscribed legends at Ahicchatra, are the following:- Agnimitra (Agimitrasa), Bhadraghoṣa (Bhadraghoṣasa), Bhānumitra (Bhānumitrasa), Bhūmimitra (Bhūmimitrasa), Dhruvamitra (Dhruvamitrasa), Indramitra (Indramitrasa), Jayagupta (Jayaguptasa) Jayamitra (Jayamitrasa), Phalgunīmitra (Phagunimitrasa), Rudragupta (Rudraguptasa), Sūryamitra (Sūyamitrasa), Viṣṇumitra (Viṣṇumitrasa), and Viśvapāla (Viśvapālasa). The coin of Bṛhaspatimitra adds one more king to the list. Recently a few new rulers have been added to the Pañcāla group. K.N. Dikshit[2] found at Ahicchatra coins of a new Pañcāla ruler, Varuṇamitra; Dr. V.S. Agrawala has referred to a new Pañcāla coin, evidently of another ruler -

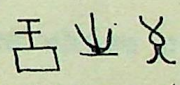
---

1. Ref. cit. p.cxvii.
2. J.N.S.I. Vol. III. p.79.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Prajāpatimitra,[1] while another name Vangapāla, a king of Áhicchatra, is mentioned by Dr. A.S. Altekar[2] on the basis of his coin. The list, thus goes on multiplying, - the number being now sixteen,- of which apparently there is only one name that could be identical with the Pauranic list. Agnimitra's name also appears in the list of rulers whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī.[3] If the Pañcāla King Agnimitra was the Śunga King at Vidisā, then certainly his coins should have been found over there, as well as at Pātaliputra, but that is not so.

Now, comparing the coins of Agnimitra of the Pañcāla group with those of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī, one hardly notices any similarity. The usual three symbols  on the obverse of the Pañcāla type are not noticed in the Kauśāmbī group where one finds a bull right before and above countermarked with triśūla. On the reverse side, unlike the male figure of Agni with flaming hair and standing on a platform between two pillars in Pañcāla group, one finds here tree in railing; on r. Are we then to presume that Agnimitra issued two types of coins - one for Pañcāla, and another for Kauśāmbī? And curiously not a single coin of any of these two types was found either at Vidisā, the Provincial seat, or at Pātaliputra

---

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., Vol. IV. p.18.
3. Allan: op. cit. ~~Ref.~~ 101, p.153.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the capital of the Śuṅga empire? The theory propagated by Jayaswal appears to have been based on picking up a few names from the Pañcāla and Kauśāmbī groups, and then identifying them with the Śunga monarchs without proper consideration of the symbols and the types of these coins. A proper study would convince anybody that the Pañcāla group of coins have an entirely separate entity from the Kauśāmbī group, and except for Agnimitra, there are no other identical names. If the Śuṅgas were really rulers of Pañcāla, then their coins should have been found in abundance in all the provinces of their empire, and even if they be supposed to have issued different types of coins for different regions, there should not have been difference in the names of rulers whose coins have been found at different places. We have, therefore, no alternative but to agree with Cunningham, whose views have been endorsed by ~~Professor~~ Allan, that the Pañcāla rulers formed a separate local dynasty which is ~~quite~~ evident from a uniform type of symbols, noticed on the coins of all the rulers in this group.

Except for mere names, there is hardly any evidence regarding their political history. The existence of the kingdom of North Pañcāla with its capital at Ahicchatra is also noticed in the Mahābhāṣya;[1] and Patañjali distinguishes

---

1. I.I., 1, 1.2.51 etc.
According to Dr. B.C. Law, there Pañcālas were definitely
(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Northern Pañcāla from Eastern Pañcāla. Are we then to presume that the Pañcāla dynasty existed during the period of the Śuṅgas and continued even after them? It ~~may~~ might have been subservient to Pātaliputra enjoying local autonomy with power to issue coins, but one cannot be certain for want of evidence.

RULERS OF KAUŚĀMBĪ:- Reference to the kings of Kauśāmbī, ~~formi~~ formed a separate group, as is evident from ~~is observed from the~~ coins found ~~over~~ there, as well as from ~~in~~ the two Pabhosā records, and the Morā tablet inscription which we shall ~~consider~~ notice later on ~~after~~ taking into consideration the numismatic ~~evidence into consideration~~ data. Professor Allan classified the coins of the Kauśāmbī rulers in the following order:-

1. Bṛhaspati Mitra I.
2. Parvata.
3. Aśvaghoṣa.
4. Bṛhaspati Mitra II - Late second century B.C.
5. Dhanadeva. - First century B.C. - First century A.D.
6. Agnimitra.
7. Jeṭhamitra.

---

feudatory to the Śuṅgas (Memoir A.S. I. No. 67 p.9). "Patañjali knows of Eastern and Northern Pañcāla, hence it is possible to conclude that during the reign of Agnimitra the state was, as of old, divided into two parts each ruled over by a separate ruler". (ibid., p. 27). The findspot of a coin belonging to Vasusena, who is identified with Vasumitra, grandson of Puṣyamitra, points, according to some scholars, to the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas over Northern Pañcāla (J.N.S.I. Vol. II. p.116).

1. ~~Ref~~ 66. cit. p.148 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Besides these, the earlier ones of round cast pieces of purely Indian type free from any foreign influence have also been found; ~~but~~, As they do not bear ~~the~~ names of rulers, their historical importance ~~from the point of view of political history is practically nil~~ is nil. The characteristic ~~types~~ symbols of Kauśāmbī coins, ~~which prevailed~~ common throughout the series, are a bull and a tree in railing.

Considering the epigraphic piece of evidence, an inscribed brick found at Morā,[1] seven miles west of Mathurā, commemorates the erection of a temple by the daughter of a King Bahaspatimitra. A Pabhosā inscription,[2] not far from Kauśāmbī, records the excavation of a cave by the maternal uncle of Bahaspatimitra. The question naturally arises - can we identify the two with the ruler of the same name mentioned in the Kauśāmbī coins? ~~A comparison of~~ The Palaeography of the two records shows some difference, which is ~~rather~~ natural, for the Pabhosā record mentions dedication by the uncle, and the Morā one by the daughter; and if the person referred to in both is the same, there is a difference of two generations, and so the Pabhosā record should be earlier than the Mora tablet inscription. The Palaeographic study, as pointed out by

---

1. J.R.A.S. 1912 p.120 pl.II, fig. 1.
   Jivaputāyē rājabharyāyē Bṛhāsvātimita(dhi) tu yasa matāyē Kāritam
2. ~~Ref.~~ op. cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Professor Allan,[1] shows just the reverse; and one rightly draws the conclusion that the two Bṛhaspatimitras are not identical. It is further observed that the Bṛhaspatimitra of the inscribed coin, who ~~cannot be later than the first half of the second century B.C., and might be even as early as the first~~, may probably be placed in the first century B.C. is a different ~~ruler other than the Bṛhaspatimitra~~ from the one who issued the struck coins (Nos. 16-25 of ~~his~~ Allan's catalogue), which are ~~comparatively~~ fairly common. Apart from the striking differences in the fabric and type, the letters ~~are different~~ showing signs of early character, as for example, the form of m, s and t. Fixing the chronology on the basis of ~~the~~ style and Palaeography, ~~Professor~~ Allan ~~had~~ placed Aśvaghoṣa (No. 17) and Parvata (Nos. 16-16a) as the earliest rulers of Kauśāmbī. The coins of Bṛhaspatimitra II, Agnimitra and Jyesthamitra form the next group, and are closely connected, ~~dating~~ They may be from the end of the second ~~and~~ to the first century B.C. Dhanadeva's coins represent the last stage in the Kauśāmbī group and he ~~should~~ may be placed in the first century A.D.

Another point, necessitating consideration here, is with regard to the identification of Bṛhaspatimitra of the Kauśāmbī coins with Bahasatimitra of the Hāthigumphā inscription[2] who was defeated by King Khāravela of Kaliṅga. The question of

---

1. ~~Ref~~. 6b cit. p.xcvi.
2. ~~Ref~~. 6b cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

identification depends on two factors - firstly, on the correct reading of the inscription, and secondly, on the presumption that the empire of this ruler extended as far as Magadha. So far as the first point is concerned, one would like to agree with ~~Professor~~ Allan, rather than with Jayaswal and others ~~who have speculated too much on the reading of the Hāthigumphā inscription~~, that Bṛhaspatimitra is not ~~at all~~ mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription. The word in question begins bahu (S--) idita; it is very probably not a proper name, for the suggested reading of the preceding words as 'Magadhā ca rājānaṁ' is extremely improbable, philologically, as well as palaeographically.[1] With reference to the second point, the Kauśāmbī coins form a series which is not disturbed, and they are localized in that particular region. So there is ~~hardly~~ no ~~any~~ question of considering Bahasatimitra as a ruler of Magadha.

KINGS OF AYODHYĀ. The Ayodhyā coins have ~~hardly any~~ no political significance worth noticing, except for a few names of rulers, among ~~though~~ whom only Kumudasena bears the title Rājā.[2] The coins of the Kings of Ayodhyā fall into two classes, as they were issued by two separate dynasties. The names of the six rulers of the first dynasty, mentioned in ~~the~~ genitive, are: Mūladeva (Mūladevasa), Vāyudeva (Vāyudevasa), Viśākhadeva (Viśākhadevasa),

---

1. Allan: Op.cit Cat. p.xcviii.
2. Ibid., p.137 pl. xvii. 17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dhanadeva (Dhanadevasa), Śivadatta (Sivadatasa) and Naradatta (Naradatasa).[1] Another uncertain ruler Pāthadeva may also be added to the list. It is not possible to arrange them in chronological order, for want of literary and epigraphic evidence.

The second dynasty, forming the third class of coins according to ~~Professor~~ Allan, included Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṁghamitra, Satyamitra, Āryamitra and Vijayamitra. Only the first one ~~calls himself~~ bears the epithet Rājan, the others have mention their names only.[2] Ajavarman, and Devamitra, whose coins are in the Indian Museum, may also be added to the list. These rulers are not known to history and their period, again, in ~~Professor~~ Allan's views, probably covered the first two centuries A.D., thereby suggesting that they were later than the Kāṇvas. The Sahet-Mahet inscription[3] of the time of Kaniska suggests his hold over that region, and this dynasty, therefore, ceased to exist by that time.

RULERS OF MATHURĀ:- The classification of Mathurā coins have brought to light two dynasties, namely, Hindu rulers whose period probably varied from the end of the third to the middle of the first century B.C., and the Śaka rulers who succeeded

---

1. Ibid., p.lxxxix.
2. Ibid., p.xc.
3. E.I. Vol. VIII. p.80.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the former Hindu Kings, and bore the title Kṣatrapa or Mahā-Kṣatrapa. The rulers of the first dynasty included[1] Brahmamitra (Brahmamitasa), Dṛḍhamitra (Dadhamitasa), Sūryamitra (Sūryamitasa), Visṇumitra (Visnumitasa), Puruṣadatta (Puruṣadatasa), Uttamadatta (Utamadatasa) and Rāmadatta (Rāmadatasa). Nothing is known about these Hindu Kings of Mathurā.

The Śaka Kṣatrapa coins reveal two groups of rulers - the first including the Kṣatrapa Śivaghoṣa, Śivadatta, Hagāmaṣa, and Hagāna; and the second group included the Mahā-Kṣatrapa Rājuvula (Rājula) and his son Śoḍāsa, about whom much is known from the Mathurā Lion Capital,[2] the Āmohinī tablet[3] and the Jain mound inscriptions.[4] Coins have confirmed Cunningham's contention that the latter was the son of the former. The coins of Rājuvula have been recovered from the Sultānpur District up to Nūrmahal in the Jullandhar Doab, and from Pādham between Etah and Shikohābad and Sankīsā in the Farrukhābād district in the United Provinces.[5] Rājula is certainly identical with the Mathurā Kṣatrapa Rājuvula of the Brāhmī inscription on the Morā stone slab,[6] now in the Mathurā Museum,

---

1. Allan, Op. cit. p.cx.
2. C.I.I. Vol. II pt. I. p.30 f.
3. E.I. VO. II. p.199 No. 2.
4. A.S.R. Vol. III. p.30.
5. Allan:- Op. cit. p.cxv.
6. Lüders List - No. 14 E.I. Vol. X.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and also with the ruler whose coins are imitated from those of Soter II with the Greek legend (BACIΛEΠC BACIΛEΩN CΩTHPOC PAIY) on the obverse, and the Kharoṣṭhī legend apratihatacakrasa Kṣatrapasa Rājuvulasa on the reverse.[1] His other coins bear the Brāhmī legend MahāKhatapasa Rājubulasa.[2] According to Sir John Marshall, stratification of finds at Taxila suggest that this ruler belonged to the beginning of the Christian era.[3]

The date of Śoḍāsa, called Śuḍāsa, who was also a Mahā-Kṣatrapa, according to the Āmohinī Tablet inscription, is 42 or 72[4] which, according to Sten Konow, should be taken in old Śaka era of 57 B.C. corresponding to 15 B.C. or 15 A.D.[5] The title MahāKṣatrapa seems to indicate that these Śaka rulers of Mathurā were independent chiefs. As regards their date, ~~according to Professor Allan~~,[6] suggests that the coins of Hindu Kings of Mathurā cover the period from the beginning of the second century to the middle of the first century B.C. Next come the Śivadatta, Hagāmāṣa group of Śaka Kṣatrapas who may be put in about 60-40 B.C. Some of them might be contemporaries at Mathurā with Rājuvula ruling further north. Rājuvula may be put in between the period 40-20 B.C. and Soḍāsa B.C. 20-10

---

1. Allan - Ref. cit. p.185.
2. Ibid., class II. p.187.
3. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1914-15, p.27.
4. E.I. Vol. II. p.199; E.I. Vol. IX. p.243 f.
5. C.I.I. Vol. II. p.xxxiv.
6. Ref. cit. p.cxvi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

or a little later.

KALIṄGA:- The Hāthigumphā inscription records the achievements of King Khāravela, who is supposed, according to ~~a set of~~ some scholars, to be the contemporary of Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga and Demetrius, while others place him in the first century B.C. on palaeographic considerations and do not trace any contemporaneity between the Śuṅga monarch and this Ceti ruler of Kaliṅga.[1] Basing one's contention on the correct interpretation of the expression ti-vasa-sata to mean 'three hundred years' after the Nanda Kings - Mahāpadma and his sons who ruled in the fourth century B.C., one naturally comes to the conclusion that Khāravela ruled in the first century B.C. As regards the history of Kaliṅga, we learn that this ruler belonged to the house of Ceta (according to some, the Cedi ruling race). Jayaswal, who considered the inscription at greater length, did not come to any conclusion on the question of the length and the period of this ruling family of Kaliṅga. He suggested[2] that Khāravela was crowned in the third dynasty of Kaliṅga, and the Ceta kings had reasserted their independence in the last days of the Mauryan rule. Khāravela was appointed heir apparent (Yuvarāja), at the age of fifteen, and he continued in that position for 9 years. He was anointed as King

---

1. ~~Ref~~. Barua: old Brāhmī Inscriptions pp.4-5 for Collected References.
2. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III. p.499.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of Kaliṅga when he had completed his twenty-fourth year. B.M. Barua suggested[1] that, if his interpretation of the two expressions - tatiya-purisa-yuga and tatiya-yuga sagāvasāna be correct, Khāravela was unquestionably the sixth king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family with whose accession to the throne of Kaliṅga, the third couple of its two successive representative men was completed, and with whose father's death, the reign of the third couple of kings was at an end, and his son and successor Kadampa-Kudepa came as the seventh King to be joined with him. He seems to have based his interpretation on traditions; and he further pointed out that "neither inscriptions nor traditions inform us as to who among the Mahāmeghavāhana family reigned in Kaliṅga as successors of Khāravela and Kadampa-Kudepa, when actually the reign of Khāravela came to an end, or what befell the Mahāmeghavāhanas after Khāravela's death." Evidently, Barua has accepted Jayaswal's contention that the contemporaries of the seven Āndhrabhṛtya Śātavāhan Kings were the seven Kosala kings of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty. This south Kosala, according to Barua,[2] formed one of the three principal divisions of Khāravela's Kaliṅga Kingdom. If it could be elicited from the Hāthigumphā record, as Barua has suggested, that Khāravela

---

1. Ref. cit. p.271.
2. Ibid., p.272.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

reigned as the sixth king and Kadampa-Kudepa as the seventh king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family, it may be concluded that just two other kings of this family reigned after their death; and the rule of this family came to an end within thirty or forty years of Khāravela's death.

The Hāthigumphā inscription may serve as a panegyric record of the deeds of this Kaliṅga monarch, but, as regards the dynastic history, the information supplied by it is meagre. Scholars have also tried ~~also~~ to identify[1] the defeated Magadhan ruler with Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga, or with Bṛhāsvātimita of the Yaśamatā's Brick tablet inscription found at Morā (Mathurā district) as well as with King Bahasatimitra, the maternal uncle of Āṣāḍhasena of the Pabhosā inscriptions. Here we ~~would like to agree with Professor Allan regarding~~ doubt the correct reading of the inscription itself, ~~and secondly~~ and also prepare, that none of these identifications could fit in. The Puṣyamitra-Bahaspatimitra theory propagated by Jayaswal has been well-exploded, while the other one, too, is not free from criticism, and suspicion, when we notice that the defeated ruler belonged to Magadha, while the two records have been found in different regions; and there is hardly any evidence of the extent of the empire of this ruler extending as far as Magadha. The whole problem is still in a confused state and unless fresh evidence is available,

---

1. Ref. J.B.O.R.S. Vol. III. p.474; A.O. Vol. I. p.29.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

more information can hardly be furnished on King Khāravela's dynastic history, or on his relations with the Kings of Northern India.

INDO-GREEKS:- Patañjali's reference to the Yavanas besieging Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and their achievements, as annaled in the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā,[1] testify to the existence of some foreign power which was playing a prominent part in the political life of the country in that period. The ambitious designs of the Bactrian Greeks, coupled with the poor frontier defence, which had in fact collapsed during the period of the later Mauryas, made the fruition of their ambitions rather easy. Subhagasena (Sophagasenos), referred to by Polybius[2] as a Maurya, maintained relations with the Syrian family of Antiochos, probably on a footing of equality as an Independent ruler in B.C. 206. This accounts for the disintegration of the Mauryan empire even before the coup d'état brought about by Puṣyamitra. It is natural to presume that a small frontier state, which seems to have cut off its relations with the centre, could hardly stem the tide of the Yavanas, and it had to give way. The hero of this victory was the Bactrian Prince Demetrius, son-in-law of Antiochos III. According to Justin,[3] Demetrius was 'King of

---

1. Op. cit.
2. XI, 34,11.
3. Watson's trans. p.277.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Indians' when Eucratides was King of the Bactrians and Mithradates of the Parthians. This possibly represents the middle, or the last stage in Demetrius' career, when he lost his ancestral kingdom in Bactria, and had to content himself with his new dominions in the east.

Demetrius has been identified by some with King Dattamitra mentioned in the Mahābhārata,[1] in the Chaucer's Knightes Tale as 'the great Emetreus', the king of the Inde, and also with Timitra of a Besnagar seal.[2] The extent of his empire can be judged from the existence of several cities named after him, which were referred to by later writers, as for example, Dattamitri in Sauvīra, according to Patañjali and the Vyākaraṇa of Kramadīśvara,[3] Demetrias polis in Arachosia in the work of Isidore of Charax, and the city of Euthydemia named after his father by Ptolemy.[4]

His invasion of Northern India, followed by the besieging of Sāketa and Madhyamikā, is referred to by Patañjali. Though the Bhāṣyakara does not mention his name, it is now generally accepted that this Yavana ruler was Demetrius. Jayaswal and Sten Konow tried to trace his name in the Hāthigumphā inscription, and the former in the Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā as well, but that may be going too far. We have already considered it

---

1. I. 139. 23.
2. Smith - Ear. His. Indi. 4th ed. pp.254-5.
3. I.A. 1911 p.12.
4. Ref. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. 3rd ed. p.262.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

in detail and need not repeat it. The finds of his coins, no doubt, offer an indication as to the extent of his empire.

The reference to the Yavanas, however, received the attention of some scholars who discussed its implication - whether it referred to the Greeks alone or to all outsiders who came to India? D.R. Bhandarkar[1] in his note on 'Śaka-Yavana' considered this question at length. Quoting Patañjali in his glossary on 'Śūdrānāmanirvasitānām which explains that a dvand-va compound (is singular) if it consists of words denoting those classes of Śūdras who have not been expelled or excluded', the late Professor explained that the Bhāṣyakara considered anirvasitā in different senses. He ultimately thought that the expression meant those who could take food from the dish of any twice-born person without making it permanently unclean. The Śaka-Yavanas, quoted as an illustration by Patañjali, represented the colonies of those foreigners outside Āryāvarta (Āryā Vartāt anirvasitānām). If we consider Patañjali's reference to the Śaka-Yavanas living outside Āryāvarta, nevertheless in Āryan settlements, in the light of his other reference to the invasion of the Yavanas, we naturally come to the conclusion that, by the time Patañjali was writing his commentary on II.4.10, the Yavanas were not inside

---

1. I.C. Vol. I. p.275; also Konow's contention. ibid. Vol. II. p.189 f. and the reply given by Louis de la Vallée-Poussin - ibid. Vol. II. p.549.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Ārya-varta at any point. Later on they invaded Madhyadeśa and even captured Pāṭaliputra, if we rely on the evidence furnished by the Yuga-Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā. It, therefore, appears that the earlier phase represents the invasion of Demetrius which had not resulted in any territorial advancement of the Yavana empire. He had to retreat hurriedly to save his dominion in the west from the clutches of Eucratides. The history, ~~that follows~~ following him, is in fact the record of struggle between the two families of Euthydemus and Eucratides - ~~both of which ruled in India concurrently~~ ruling concurrently in India. The only information available about them is ~~through the study~~ from their coins, and some references from the Greek literature. The history of the Śaka settlements, which seems to have ~~taken~~ been established ~~place during~~ in the time of Patañjali, ~~would be considered later on~~ is postponed for later consideration.

THE HOUSE OF EUTHYDEMUS:- ~~We have already considered about Demetrius~~ The history of Demetrius has been considered earlier. It is now generally believed that he was the person who ~~had~~ besieged Sāketa and Madhyamikā, and took Pāṭaliputra as well, but he had soon to retreat. Smith's theory that this Yavana ruler may have been Menander is no longer pressed, nor endorsed by scholars. According to Apollodorus,[1] the Indian conquest is attributed not only to Demetrius but also to Menander. Dr. Tarn concluded[2] that

---

1. Strabo XI. 516.
2. ~~Ref~~ Cf. cit. p.140.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Menander was Demetrius' general who accompanied him in his Indian campaign. He further suggested that the two primary Greek sources, taken together, ascribe the conquest of Northern India to three men, Demetrius, Apollodotus and Menander. One line of advance was that of Menander's, and the other one was shared by Demetrius and Apollodotus, the former being also responsible for the conquest of Sindh, as the Mahābhārata has mentioned Dattamitra, the King of the Yavanas and Sauvīras.

It is suggested by Dr Tarn that, when Demetrius returned to Bactria, he handed over to Apollodotus, as his sub-king, everything in India outside Menander's sphere except the Paropamisadai. This is apparent from the coin-types which are the 'Zeus of Kāpiśa' and the 'humped bull of Puṣkalāvatī'. Accepting the views of Von Gutschmid, which were endorsed by Weber, Tarn has tried to trace Apollodotus in the Mahābhārata as King of Yavanas under the name Bhāgadatta.[1] The wide diffusion of his rule is attested by the extension of his empire. The relation of this ruler with Demetrius, as his youngest brother, has also been pointed out by him (p.76).

With regard to Manander's position, it is proposed by Tarn,[2] that he was till then governor or vice-roy for Demetrius of all the conquests south-eastward of the river Jhelum. He may have assumed the title of King, himself,

---

1. Ibid., p.165.
2. Ibid., p.167.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

probably after the death of his overlord. The exact date of his consecration as King can hardly be suggested for want of evidence. The death of Demetrius and Apollodotus and the return of Eucratides to Bactria, as Tarn has suggested, left him complete master of the position in India. The matrimonial alliance between this general and Agathocleia, who later on acted as the regent of their son Strato I, cemented the claim of Menander to the throne. The disruption of the Indo-Greek kingdom after Demetrius may be accepted as an established fact. There were probably two rival Greek kingdoms - one to the west, and the other to the east of Indus, the latter with Eucratides and Heliocles as rulers. According to Przyluski[1], Menander's empire extended from Mathurā in the east to Barygaza (Broach) in the west; and this has been accepted as substantially correct. This Greek ruler wanted to accept the challenge of Puṣyamitra's supremacy. If the evidence from the Mālavikāgnimitra is to be accepted, then the Yavana King, whose name is not mentioned, but probably Menander, was defeated on the banks of the Kālīsindhu, a tributary of the Yamunā, and not the Great Indus, as assumed by certain scholars.

The rest of the history of the house of Euthydemus is not at all important, and only the names of the kings can be enumerated[2] - namely, Agothocleia - the mother and Regent ruling

---

1. Légende d'Aśoka p.167.
2. Gardner.: Catal. Greek Ind. Coins - p.40 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

on behalf of Strato I, and the latter ruling independently afterwards, and then conjointly with his grandson Stato II, whose date is fixed by Tarn in 100 B.C.[1] The encroachments by the house of Eucratides were making the position of these rulers rather uneasy, but worse still were the Śakas who were responsible for the complete overthrow of the Yavana Power in Eastern Punjab. Coins of Agathocleia and Strato,[2] and others of Strato alone, and sometimes found restruck with the type of Heliocles[3] bearing the reverse type 'Victory', suggest a further transference of the dominions belonging to the house of Euthydemus to that of Eucratides, and thus fully testifies to the continuation of the conflict between the two groups of Yavana rulers.

THE HOUSE OF EUCRATIDES. The Yuga Purāṇa of the Gārgī Saṁhitā makes it clear that the Yavanas had to retreat consequent to the civil strife at home. The hero of this struggle was Eucratides who deposed Demetrius ~~from the throne of~~ Bactria (C. 175 B.C.), invaded the countries to the south of the Hindu Kush, and wrested from Demetrius and the princes of his house, their dominions in the Kabul valley, in Ariana (Arachosia and Aria) and in North-west India sometime before 162 B.C.[4] This

---

1. ~~Ref~~. cit. p.226.
2. Gardner - ~~Ref~~. cit. pl. VII. 25.
3. Ibid., pl. VII. 35.
4. Tarn: ~~Ref~~. cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ruler did not meet with success, as he was deprived of his possessions in Ariana by Mittradates I, and shortly afterwards was slain by his son Heliocles C 155 B.C. The ~~source of information about the Princes of this house~~ history of this house may be traced in coins and ~~is numismatic evidence~~, and in the Besnagar inscription. The Yavana house ceased to rule in Bactria after him, and ~~the following rulers~~ his successors had to satisfy themselves with their Indian possessions only.

Antialkidas of this dynasty, whose name appears in the Besnagar record,[1] established diplomatic relations with the Śuṅga King of Vidisā through Heliodorus, his ambassador. This inscription, thus, helps in fixing the probable date of this Greek ruler of Taxila. Numismatic evidence shows that after the reign of Archebius, the region of Taxila passed from the Yavanas to the Śakas.[2] The Taxila Copper Plate inscription[3] refers to the conquest of the city by the first Śaka King Maues who was reigning there in the year 78 of an undated era. The Śaka conquest bifurcated the Yavana dominions, and the territory occupied by this ruler served as a buffer state. The House of Eucratides was confined to the south of the Hindu-Kush.

ŚAKAS:- The reference to the Śakas in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya along with the Yavanas suggest that they had been living in Āryan settlements, though outside Āryāvarta. This

---

1. Lüders List No. 669?
2. C.H. I. Vol. I. p.559.
3. C.I.I. Vol. II. pt. I. p.23 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

evidently refers to their settlements in India along with the Yavanas. D.R. Bhandarkar,[1] who discussed this subject, has pointed out that the Sakas, like the Yavanas, had established their power, if not in Āryāvarta proper, then certainly in the north-western India. He has put Vonones and his successors in practically the same period, as the Bactrian Greeks, in the light of the above passage from the Mahābhāṣya. The migration of the Śakas, consequent to the general condition of unrest caused by the turbulent Hūṇas, has been fixed by him as early as C 175 B.C. As suggested by Rapson, the Śakas passed through Ariana, Drangiana, and Arachosia and reached India by the Bolan Pass. The date of the Taxila inscription of Moga (Maues) is supposed by Bhandarkar to be in an era started by Vonones. Ultimately he came to the conclusion that the advent of the Śaka power might very well be placed between 184 and 148 B.C., when Patañjali lived and wrote. The Bhāṣyakara, ~~it seems~~ probably, ~~referred~~ referring to the Śakas in general and the expression ~~well construed to~~ might be interpreted as referring to the Śakas of Seistan.[2] According to Tarn, the old Śaka era in which the inscription of Moga is dated commenced about C. 155 B.C. In answer to a question, ~~if the Sakas were independent enough at that time to institute an era like the Arsacids, why did~~ referring to the independence of the Śakas and their instituting an era, but failing to issue coins at an early period, Tarn

---

1. Ref. cit.
2. Ref. cit. p.502.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~they not issue coins at an early period, he answered that~~ points out that the Śakas they depended on getting control of a Greek mint, or anyhow a Greek city? The association of the Śakas with the Greeks, therefore, seems to have taken place at the time when Patañjali wrote his Mahābhāṣya. In an article, published a few years back, D.R. Bhandarkar[1] placed Vonones as the first ruler, followed by Azes, Azilises, Azes II and than Maues, and, if his interpretation be accepted, then this dynasty should be placed earlier than is generally accepted.

SOME OF THE TRIBES:- Amongst the tribes, which had assumed political importance in that period, were the Yaudheyas, essentially a tribe of the Punjab, which was fairly important even in early times. These people were known to Pāṇini, as a republican tribe of the Punjab which, along with the Trigartas,[2] (according to Scholiast) are referred to as forming an 'Āyudha-jīvī Saṁgha', or a tribal Republican organization depending mainly on arms. Unfortunately Patañjali does not mention them. The findspots of the Yaudheya coins[3] suggest the extent of their territory, while the reference to their defeat at the hands of Rudradāman[4] evidently point out their existence in the second century A.D., as a Republican clan. According to

---

1. I.C. Vol. VII. pt. II. p.209 f.
2. IV. I. 178.
3. Allan - Ref. op. cit. p.269 f.
4. E.I. Vol. VIII. p.36 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~Professor~~ Allan,[1] the coins of the Yaudheyas fall into three periods, classes 1, 2 and 5 of the late second, and first centuries B.C. indicating a period of independence, from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kuṣāṇas to power. Classes 3 and 4 belong to the late second century; and the poor state of currency reflects the disastrous effects of Rudradāman's victory consequent to, and the war with the Śakas. The five coins of class 6 reveal strong Kuṣāna influence indicating the well-established position of the tribe again in the third century A.D. As we are here concerned ~~here~~ only with the Political history up to the beginning of the Christian era, we have to confine ourselves to the first phase of their history. ~~Professor~~ Allan referred to a coin bearing the legend trakata-janapadasa 'of the tribe of Trigarta' in Brāhmī characters of probably the first half of the second century B.C. In his view, the Trigarta country corresponded to the modern Jullandhar, the land between the Rāvī and the Sutlej.

The Ārjunāyanas, though not mentioned by Patañjali or by Pāṇini, are placed in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā[2] along with the Yaudheyas in the Northern division of India. Here again, one has to take the numismatic evidence into consideration with a view to suggesting the existence of this kingdom in the second and

---

1. Allan - Ref. cit. p.cxxxix.
2. XIV. 25; I.A. Vol. XXII. p.173.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the first century B.C. The coins bearing the name of Ārjunāyanas are very rare, though known in several varieties. The legend Ā(r)junāyanānām jaya(-) - 'victory of the Ārjunāyanas,' is similar to the legend on the coins of the Yaudheyas.

~~According to Professor Allan~~, the epigraphy of the coin legends suggests a date about 100 B.C. and the lands of the Ārjunāyanas, probably lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra. The association of these two tribes in also apparent from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.[2]

The Audumbaras issued several types of coins - the earliest being found in large number at Irippal in the Kāngrā district of the Punjab, and free from foreign influence. The names of the four kings found on these pieces are: Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeo and Dharaghosa, and the epigraphy points to the first century B.C. A rare coin of Dharaghosa is modelled on the Graeco-Indian hemidrachm, and may be dated in the middle of the first century B.C.; Mahādeo ~~whose~~ existence as a ruler is not doubted, despite the use of this word as a regal title on the coins of the four rulers mentioned above; and RudraVarman. Coins of three Mitra Kings - Mahimitra, Bhānumitra and Mahābhūtimitra were found in the Hoshiarpur district of the East Punjab and are dated, ~~according to Professor Allan~~, in

---

2. C.I.I. Vol. III. p.14.
1. Allan - Ref. cit. p.lxxxiii.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the first century B.C. or A.D. The Audumbaras ~~have~~ are ~~been~~ located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kāṅgrā, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts between the Upper Sutlej and Rāvī.

ĀNDHRAS OR THE EARLY ŚĀTAVĀHANAS.

According to the Purāṇas after the Śuṅgabhṛtya Kāṇvāyana, the earth was to pass on to the Āndhras. The Andhra Śimukha with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyana and destroy the remains of the Śuṅga's power, and will obtain this earth.[1] Before ~~going~~ sifting into the history of the earlier kings of this dynasty, it may be desirable to consider the place with which they were originally associated. Śrīnivās Aiyangar[2] ~~tried to prove~~ suggested that the Āndhras were associated with the Telgu country only at a later date, as they are assigned to the Vindhya region in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and in the inscriptions of Aśoka as well as in Harṣacarita. The finds of the early Āndhra coins in the western part of India, and a reference to them in the inscription of Khāravela suggest their rule in the south-west, rather than in the Āndhra region. V.S. Sukhthankar,[3] editing an inscription of Siri-Pulumāvi, 'King of the Śātavahānas', identified a place called Satavāhamhara with one of the same name occurring in the

---

1. Pargiter - ~~Ref~~ Op. cit. p.35 f.
2. I.A. 1913, p.276 f.
3. E.I. Vol. XIX. p.153 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Hira-Hadagalli Copper plate inscription, though in a slightly altered form (Sataham-rattha), and assigned Bellary district, as the original home of the Śātavāhanas. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa,[1] they are placed where one notices them in later times, and this is confirmed by Varāhamihira[2] and Hiuen-Tsang[3] ~~Yuan-Chwang~~. According to Mr. Bose,[4] the ancient Āndhras lived in the deltas of the Godāvarī and the Kṛsnā rivers on the eastern sea coast of India. ~~As hinted~~ It is proposed by Dr. RayChaudhary,[5] that the name Āndhra, ~~used~~ probably was meant for ~~came to be applied to~~ the Śātavāhana kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and remained a purely Āndhra power, governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛsnā. Dr. Barnett[6] locates the original home of the Āndhras in the Telingana district. ~~suggested the modern Telingana in the Province~~ along the eastern coast between the deltas of the rivers Godāvarī and Kṛsnā, ~~together with as much of the Circars as they could hold against the rival kingdoms of Kaliṅga in the north, as the original home of the Āndhras.~~ It appears probable that the exact limit of their territory probably varied from time to time and so also the capital.

---

1. IV. XLI. 12.
2. XIV. 8.
3. Beal - Buddhist. Recd. West. World. Vol. II. p.217 f.
4. J.A.S.B. Vol. V, p.11.
5. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. 3rd. ed. p.280.
6. C.H.I. Vol. I, p.599.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

It has been supposed by scholars that this dynasty commenced shortly after the death of the Mauryan King Aśoka. According to Bose,[1] the beginning of the Āndhra ~~reign is~~ rule may be fixed at about 230 B.C., which would be the time of Simukha, and so the Āndhras were the contemporaries of the later Mauryas, of the Śuṅgas and even of the Kāṇvas. In suggesting this early date, he doubts the truth in the Pauranic reference to the murder of the last Kāṇva ruler by the first Āndhra King which took place in C.28 B.C. Dr. Barnett suggested[2] that after the death of Aśoka, the Mauryan empire rapidly declined and the neighbouring rulers were left free to indulge in their ambitious designs and enlarging their boundaries. Among these was a certain person Simukha who within the last quarter of the third century B.C. established the powerful Śātavāhana or Śātakarṇi dynasty which ruled over the Telegu country for five centuries.

The epigraphic records which we may consider here are: the Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela,[3] the Nānāghāta inscription of Nāyaṇikā,[4] and a Sāñchī record of Rājan Siri Sātakaṇi.[5] In the first inscription, we notice in line 3 that in the second year, not (at all) bringing Sātakaṇi into (his)

---

1. ~~Ref~~. cit.
2. ~~Ref~~. cit.
3. ~~Ref~~. cit.
4. Luders List No. 1114.
5. E.I. Vol. II, p.88.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

thought, (acitayitā Sātakanim), (king Khāravela) caused multitudinous troops of horses, elephants and chariots, to move on to the western quarter, and with the aid of the army from Kaliṅga, struck terror into the city of Asaka. The second inscription mentions the names of queen Nāyaṇikā (Nāganikā) and King Siri-Sātakaṇi. The Sāñchī inscription records a donation by the foreman of the artisans in the time of King Siri-Sātakaṇi. Bühler agreed with Cunningham in identifying this ruler with the third Āndhra King, but as regards the date and the character of this inscription, as well as of others on the Sāñchī gateway, he placed ~~them earlier~~ the Sātavāhanas than the first century of our era. They are almost identical with those of the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and differ only slightly from the type of characters of Aśoka's time.

The consideration of the date of the Hāthigumphā inscription, which must be brought down to the first century B.C., has facilitated the dating of the Āndhra rule which should begin in the first century B.C. rather than much earlier in the third, as supposed by Bose. Considering the Pauranic evidence,[1] we find in the description of the dynasties of Vidisā, that after the destruction of the Śuṅgas, Śiśyanandi, his younger brother Nandiyasas and three others would become ~~became~~ rulers there. His daughter's son Śiśukha became King of Purikā (at

---

1. Pargiter, Op. Ref. cit. p.49.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

some unspecified time). The name Śiśukha may have been wrongly spelt for Simukha, the founder of the Āndhra dynasty. If the two could be identified one may agree with Dr. Ray-Chaudhary[1] that after overthrowing the Śuṅgas, Simukha annexed Purikā and placed Vidisā under his maternal relations. This conjecture agrees with the date of the beginning of the Āndhra rule. The defeated Śuṅga prince may have been Viśvamitra of the Besnagar seal.[2] Śiśunandi, mentioned in the list, may be identified with Rājan Svāmin Śivanandi whose seal was found at Pawāyā.

We have considered the political history of Northern India in the second and ~~the~~ first centuries B.C. taking into consideration ~~on the basis of stray~~ references from the Mahābhāṣya, ~~as corroborated by other pieces~~ and other pieces of evidence. Patañjali's reference to Puṣyamitra the Śuṅga, and the invasion of the Yavanas, evidently, suggest that the Bhaṣyakāra was not unaware of the then political condition. The revival of Brahmanism synchronised with the ascendancy of the Brāhmaṇa Śuṅgas to power and the disintegration of the vast Mauryan empire in the North-west and the South-west. The North, serving for sometime as a small buffer state between the spreading tide of the Yavanas and the Āryāvarta state of the Śuṅgas, could not withstand for long and had to give way. The result was the conflict of the Yavanas with the Śuṅgas

---

1. Ref. cit. (6f.)
2. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1915-16 p.16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

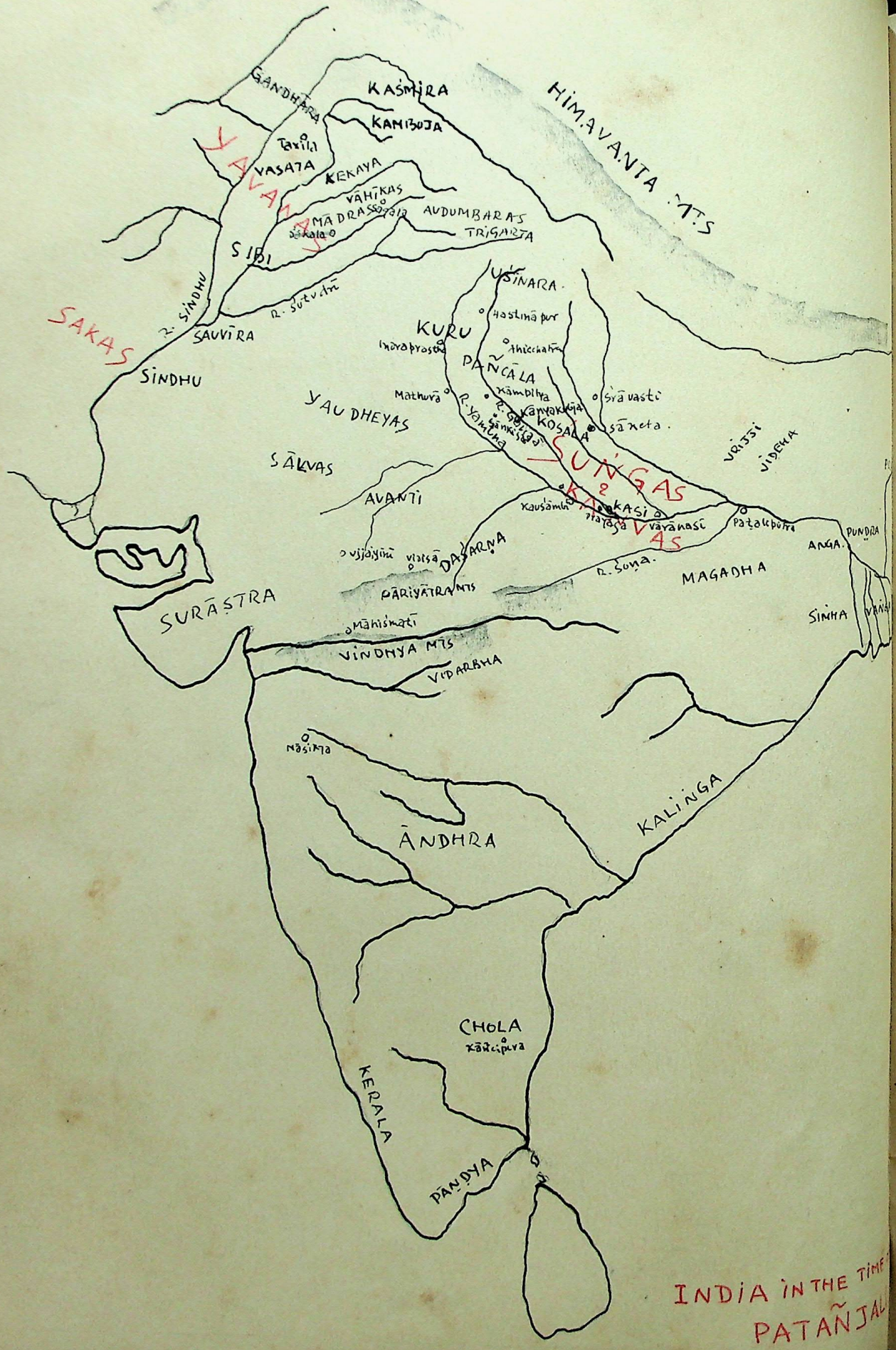
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

which one should conclude as a drawn struggle, with ~~both sides scoring victory once~~ indecisive results, ~~and both continued to exist~~. As the Yavana power was disintegrating consequent to the internecine struggle and the emergence of the Śakas as another important power, so also was the Śunga empire fast declining with the existence of small states, like, Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kosam, Mathurā, and Vidisā, ~~which~~ The last one, according to Kālidāsa, had an independent Śuṅga monarch, since he is called a king whose authority was recognized by the Vidarbha cousin rulers. The Kaliṅga kingdom, which had lost ground in the time of Asoka, also exhibited its independence, and the Hāthigumphā inscription is an evidence of the growing power of this ruler, who, it is claimed, defeated the King of Magadha. Another dynasty was that of the Āndhras which ~~in the subsequent period~~ later on played a very important part in Ancient Indian History. The evidence relating to this period is rather scanty, and, as the late Professor Rapson suggested nearly thirty years ago, "in our attempt to reconstruct the mosaic of ancient Indian history from the few pieces which have as yet been found, we can do little more than define the limits of possible hypothesis in this instance", the position at present has not much improved. We have still to wait for adequate material, ere we properly reconstruct a detailed history of Northern India from the second century B.C. till the advent of the Christian era.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



INDIA IN THE TIME
PATAÑJAL

[Preface 1952]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER III.

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA.

The Geographical information, available from the Mahābhāṣya, is not as exhaustive as we find in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, nevertheless it is comprehensive enough to give a general idea of the country as known to Patañjali. The Bhāṣyakāra mostly refers to places in the Āryā-varta, with its ~~boundary~~ well-defined ~~by him~~ boundary, but he is not ~~narrow~~ rigid in his ~~outlook~~ treatment. One finds references to the settlements of the Yavanas;[1] the Janapadas of the North-west - Gandhāra, Kamboja and Kaśmīra; those in the East - Aṅga, Magadha, Kaliṅga, and Prāgdeśa; and the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and Keralas in the South. The land of the Pañca-nadas, Sindhu, Sauvīra and Surāṣṭra are also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.[2] He also ~~provides~~ adduces additional details, and verifies a good many names mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha.[3] The Cāturārthika Sūtras - IV.2.67-70 of Pāṇini which explain the significance of names of places where a thing was found, or the place itself was founded by such and such a person or community, or if it was the dwelling-place

---

1. II.4.10. p.475.
2. Ref. to be cited separately.
3. Cf. the reference to the complete list of states constituting the Sālvajanapada, IV.1.168 p.269; IV.1.170 p.269; those beginning with the letter n, and the verification of the five names in the Rājanyādi group IV.2.52 p.282.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of such and such a person or community, and lastly the location of the place as nearer to a known object, are also considered by Patañjali. He does not comment in detail on the Nivāsa and Abhijāna Sūtras[1] formulated by Pāṇini which suggest that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling-place, or where someone's ancestors lived, as well as certain other sutras of Pāṇini (IV.2.130-45) which mention geographical names. This lacuna in his treatment of such names is partly made up by his reference to the ethnic distribution of particular areas under the Viṣaya-Sūtra (viṣayo-deśe)[2] and by preserving the broad division of the Janapadas, as suggested by Pāṇini - namely, Janapadas under monarchy (ekarājā) and tribes organized as āyudhajīvi-saṁgha.[3] In this connection, one also traces the classification of Place-names, based on linguistic principles, which was earlier made by Pāṇini.

CONCEPTION OF THE COUNTRY:- Patañjali, no doubt, refers to the Udicya and Prācya divisions of the country with a number of many janapadas associated with those parts, but he is more particular about Āryā-varta, the land of the Śiṣṭas. Its boundaries are defined by him, as comprising the region south

---

1. IV. 3. 89-90 p.314.
2. IV. 2. 52 p.282.
3. IV. 1. 168-176 p.268 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Himālayas, east of Ādarśa[1], and west of Kālakavana. The southern limit, Pāriyātra, according to earlier investigations[2], is the western part of the Vindhaya range extending from the source of the Chambal to the Gulf of Cambay, but as suggested by R.G. Bhandarkar[3], it is that portion of the Vindhyan range from which the rivers Chambal and Betwā take their rise. The eastern and western limits are defined with some difference by the Smṛtikāras - Manu, Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana. Ādarśa, as the western limit, is supposed to be identical with Adarśana or Vinaśana. The Kāśikā[4] takes it in the sense of a janapada. Vaśiṣṭha[5] has referred to the limits of Āryā-varta both according to his views and that of others. He confines it to the east of the region where the river Sarasvatī disappears, the west of the Black forest, the north of Pāripātra, and the south of the Himālaya. Bühler, translating the Smṛti, has compared[6] the boundaries of Āryā-varta, as suggested by the Smṛtikāra, with those mentioned by Patañjali. The river Sarasvatī disappears in the Patiala State, East Punjab, and the Pāripātra mountains form a part of

---

1. II.4.10. p.475. Prāgādarsāt pratyakkālakavanād dakṣiṇena himavantam uttarena pāriyātram
2. Asiatic Researches Vol.VIII. p.338.
3. Early History of the Deccan. Sec.3. (1884)
4. IV.2.124. p.381. Ādarśakaḥ-janapadāvadheḥ khalv api
5. I. 8 f.
6. S.B.E. Vol.XIV. p.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the great Vindhaya range, probably corresponding to the hills in Malwa. The position of the Kālakavana is fairly certain, though, according to N.L. Dey,[1] it ~~should~~ might be identified with the Rajmahal hills in the Province of Bihar. H.C. Chakladhar suggests[2] that, like the other points, the one marking the eastern limit of this Āryāvarta would correspond to the eastern point of Manu's Madhyadeśa viz. Prayāga. He identifies Kālakavana with the Kālakārāma of the Buddhist texts[3] representing the outskirt of Sāketa; and regards the Āryāvarta of Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyana, as exactly coterminous with the Madhyadeśa of Manu.

As suggested earlier, Patanjali's geographical vision extends even beyond Āryāvarta. We find references to far off places in the North-west, such as, Valkh or Balkh (Vahlāyana)[4], Kamboja,[5] Kaśmīra[6] and Gandhāra,[7] and in the South Pāṇḍya, Coḍa, Keḍara and Kerala[8] countries which are not traced in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Prācya country, which, according to his comment, lay outside the sphere of the Bharatas (~~anyatra~~

---

1. Geographical Dictionary, p.84.
2. I.H.Q. Vol.IV. p.93 f.
3. Ang. Nik. ii. 24.
4. IV. 2.99 p.292, L.2.
5. I.1.1. p.9, L.26.
6. III. 2.114. p.119, L.9.
7. IV. 2.52. p.283, L.10.
8. IV. 1.175. p.270, L.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

prāggrahaṇe bharatagrahaṇam na bhavatīti)[1], included Aṅga, Vaṅga[2] and Kaliṅga[3]. The Western region was also known, as Patañjali refers to Sindhu and Sauvīrya[4]. These references suggest that the Bhāṣyakāra possessed good geographical knowledge of the country. Particular mention may be made of Sarasī[5], used by him to denote lakes in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. He might have visited the South, but there is no doubt about his geographical outlook extending beyond Āryāvarta though he was very particular about this land associated with the Śiṣṭas in whom he was interested.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY:- The study of the physical geography is confined to mountains, rivers and forests. There are many references[6] in the Mahābhāṣya to Himavamt Parvata, but one also finds also a comment on the glacier Himānī[7] and the melting of snow (himasratha)[8] referred to earlier by Pāṇini[9]. The Bhāṣyakāra refers also to a low land in the sense of a valley (upatyakā), and a table-land on the upper part of a mountain (adhityakā)[10] in different comments. The particular

---

1. II. 4.66 p.493. L.15.
2. IV. 1.170 p.269, Ll.16-17.
3. III. 2.115 p.120, L.26.
4. IV. 1.170 p.269, L.17.
5. I. 1.19 p.73, L.5.
6. I. 1.57 p.150, L.23; I. 1.72 p.184, L.20 etc. etc.
7. IV. 1.49 p.220, L.15.
8. I. 1.4 p.51, L.22.
9. IV. 1.49; IV. 4.29.
10. VII. 3.45 p.325. L.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

mountains, besides Himavamt traced in the Mahābhāṣya are Pāriyātra[1] and Krauñca.[2] The last possibly may be understood as denoting a bird (pakṣī), though the name also denotes a part of the Himālaya range, situated in the eastern part of the chain to the north of Assam and in the Vāyu Purāṇa[3] said to have been split by Kārttikeya. The formations of the names of the mountains are not alluded to in the Mahābhāṣya, nor is the important Sūtra - IV. 3.91, referring to the settlements of the hill tribe, commented upon by Patañjali.

State Museum Library Lucknow 7102

FORESTS:- Unlike Pāṇini, Patañjali has not mentioned many forests. In fact there are references only to Khāṇḍava[4] and Bailvavana[5] which are unnoticed by Pāṇini. The former, according to the Mahābhārata,[6] was situated on a river called Aśvarathā, while, in the Padma Purāṇa,[7] it is described as lying near the banks of the Yamunā, and Indraprastha was part of it. The identification of the latter is uncertain. The Kiṣkindhaguhā is also referred to in the Mahābhāṣya.[8]

RIVERS:- The rivers of the extreme North-west, including

---

1. II. 4.10 p.475, L.3.
2. IV. 1.120 p.258, L.12.
3. 72. 47.
4. VIII. 1.4 p.364, L.23.
5. III. 1.1 p.3, L.13.
6. Vanaparva, Chap. 160, L.11681.
7. Uttara, Chap. 64.
8. VI. 1.157 p.96, L.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Afghanistan, as for example, Suvāstu, mentioned by Pāṇini,[1] is not noticed in the Mahābhāṣya. Patañjali in his comment on the Sūtra orañ, illustrating the use of the affix añ after a stem ending in u or ū in the sense of Cāturarthika Sūtras, mentions by way of illustration, Maśakāvatī and Udumbarāvatī.[2] As regards the identification of the two rivers, it may be suggested that they might be the names of two particular portions of the river Swat which flowed near the city of Massaga.[3] N.L. Dey identified Maśakāvatī with Mazaga, or Massanagar twenty-four miles from Bajaur on the river Swat in the Yusufzai country. Earlier Rennel had identified it with the Massaga of Alexander's historians.[4] Commenting on the Sūtra nadyām matup (IV.2.85) which makes it encumbent to affix matup when the name of the river is to be designated by something found near it, Patañjali mentions several rivers including Udumbarāvati and Masakavati. The Harivamsa[5] mentions Udumbarāvatī, along with the rivers of the South. It seems to have been associated with the Audumbaras, well-known from their coins recovered from the Kāngrā district of the Panjab. It may, therefore, be identified with a small tributary joining the river Beas near Gurdaspur.[6]

Though Patañjali refers to Pañcanada which is to be taken in the sense of the country of five rivers (pañcānām nadīnām

---

1. IV. 2.77.
2. IV. 2.71 p.287, L.15.
3. Geographical Dictionary, p.127.
4. Ibid.
5. Chap. 8.167, L.9511.
6. Cf. Imperial Gazetter of India - Atlas, Vol.XXVI

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Samūhārah pañcanadam)[1], he mentions only Śutudrī[2], a tributary of the river Indus (Sindhu)[3] along with Gaṅgā, Yamunā, and Sarasvatī. Other rivers, traced in the Mahābhāṣya, are:- Ikṣumatī and Drumatī[4], Yavamatī[5], Dāvikā[6], Gomatī[7] and Rathaspā[8]. Ikṣumatī, according to its literal meaning, was famous for sugar cane plants growing near its bed. N.L. Dey[9], citing a reference from the Rāmāyana, identified it with the river Kālī. According to Patañjali, the river Dāvikā was noted for some kind of rice growing near its bed, (Dāvikākūlāh Śālayah), and it is identified by Pargiter[10] (citing some reference from the Epics), with the river Deeg, but according to Dr B.C. Law[11] - on the authority of Viṣnudharmottara (I.161.15) and supported by Nilamata Purāṇa, this river flowed through the Mādra country. Rathaspā is noticed earlier in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa[12], and in the Ādi Parva of the Mahābhārata[13] (as Rathasthā), one of the seven sacred rivers between the

---

1. IV. 1.88 p.239, Ll.5-6.
2. I. 2.32 p.209, L.10.
3. I. 1.1. p.4, Ll.27, 29.
4. IV. 2.71 p.287, L.16.
5. V. 2.94 p.394, L.6.
6. VII. 3.1 p.316, L.4.
7. I. 1.62 p.162, L.13.
8. VI. 1.157 p.96, L.17.
9. Ref. cit. p.77.
10. Mārkandeya Purāṇa (Biblio. Indi.) p.292.
11. Geog. Essays, p.92.
12. Caland: Extracts, 204.
13. Chap. 170, L.6455.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Sarasvatī and Gaṇḍakī, is identified by Dey[1] with the river Rāptī in Avadha. As regards other rivers, it is difficult to suggest any reasonable identification, ~~either for name sake, or the region with which they were probably associated.~~ However, It may be suggested that Patañjali was referring to the rivers of the Āryā-Varta.

POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY:- Janapadas - Patañjali's list of the janapadas or the political divisions is more exhaustive than the one given by Pāṇini, and one is not surprised to find references to kingdoms situated in the North-west, as well as in the South, which are not traced in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. The Janapadas were homogenous political, cultural and geographical units, and were in existence from early times, as we find references to the sixteen Mahā-janapadas in the Buddhist works. They continued to exist, despite the political vicissitudes which sometimes resulted in the inclusion of a minor one in the territory of the stronger neighbouring janapada, and ultimately they formed parts of the great Magadhan empire. From a geographical point of view, they may be enumerated and identified here according to the region in which they were situated.

KAMBOJA:- This janapada, in the extreme North-west, has been referred to by both Pāṇini[2] and Patañjali.[3] As a people,

---

1. Ref. cit. p.168.
2. IV. 1.175.
3. 1.1.1. p.9, L.26.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Kambojas are mentioned by Yāska in his Nirukta.[1] Their connection with the Mādras, probably the Uttara Mādras, is speculated from the reference to Kāmboja Aupamanyava, pupil of Madragāra.[2] H.C. Raychaudhary[3] suggested that the Kamboja janapada lay in the region of Rajaurī or Rājapur with its boundary in the west extending as far as Kafiristan. As mentioned in the Mahābhārata,[4] a place, called Rājapura, was the home of the Kambojas.

KAŚMĪRA:- Its existence as a separate political unit is evident from the Mahābhāṣya[5] which also mentions the queen of Kaśmīra (Kaśmīrarājñī),[6] thus suggesting that it had monarchial form of government. Its exact boundaries cannot be defined, but according to a Jātaka,[7] it was included in the kingdom of Gandhāra.

GANDHĀRA:- Patañjali has mentioned Gāndhāra[8] and not the earlier form Gandhāra. The people of this region Gāndhāri, are mentioned as early as the period of the Ṛgveda.[9] According to Zimmer, their settlement was on the South bank of

---

1. ii. 2.
2. Vedic Index Vol.I, p.138.
3. Pol. His. Anc. Ind. p.105 (3rd Ed.)
4. VII. Chap. 4. 19.
5. I. 1.44 p.109, Ll.17,18.
6. IV. 1.1. p.193, L.18.
7. No.406.
8. IV. 2.52 p.282, L.10.
9. I. 26.7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Kubhā up to its confluence with the Indus, and to a certain extent to the east of the Indus itself.[1] It is now generally accepted that Gandhāra comprised the present Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

KEKAYA:- The word Kaikeya[2] indicates the people of the Kekaya janapada. They were famous during the period of the Epics, and their territory lay, according to the Rāmāyaṇa,[3] beyond the river Vīpāsā (Beas), and extended up to the borders of ancient Gandhāra. The present districts of Jhelum, Shah-Pur and Gujrāt may correspond to the ancient Kekaya janapada.

SĀLVA:-[4] This country was ancient and vast. The people of this place are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[5] A later reference from the Mahābhārata[6] suggests their connection with the Kuru-Pañcālas on the banks of the Yamunā. The Udumbaras and Bodhas, referred to by Patañjali,[7] belonged to the Kṣatriya gotra and are included in the Sālva group in the Kāśikā.[8] According to Pargiter,[9] the Śālveyas, originally connected with the Śālvas, are to be placed to the west of the Arāvalī hills.

---

1. Vedic Index Vol.I. p.219.
2. 1.1.57 p.149, L.8.
3. II. 68. 19-22.
4. IV. 2.133 p.300, L.10.
5. X. 4.1.10.
6. VI. Chap.9. L.346.
7. II. 4.58, p.489, L.3.
8. p.136.
9. J.R.A.S. 1908, p.325.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

UDUMBARA:- The people of this place are mentioned along with the Baudhis by Patañjali;[1] and, according to the Kāśikā, both belonged to the Sālva group. The finds of the Audumbara coins in the Kāngrā and Hoshiarpur districts[2] settles their territory.

BODHA:- The residents of this country belonged to the Sālva group, and are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[3] They are to be located somewhere in the eastern districts of the Panjab.

DĀRVYAH:-[4] ~~According to the Mahābhārata, they were generally associated with the Abhisāras and were vanquished by Arjuna (Darvābhisārā Daradāḥ).~~[5] Auriel Stein[5 6] placed their country between the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab). Pargiter,[6 7] however, considered[1] them as northerners generally associated with the Trigartas and Daradas, and other tribes in the North-East Punjab.

VĀSĀTA:- Patañjali mentions[7 8] them in close association with Gandhāra and Śivi, thereby suggesting that it was probably

---

1. II. 4.58 p.489, Ll.3-4.
2. Allan - Ref. cit. p. L.xxxiii.
3. Sabhā, XIII. 590.
4. IV. 1.70 p.269, L.17.
5. ~~VIII. Chap. 73. 3652.~~
5 6. Rājatarangiṇī - Vol.I. p.32; II. p.432.
6 7. ~~Ref. 55.~~ p.324.
7 8. IV. 2.52 p.282, L.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a Janapada between the two States. The Mahābhārata[1] refers to the King of Vasātis who was killed by Abhimanyu. McCrindle, on the authority of Hemacandra's Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi, placed it between the Indus and the Jhelum.[2]

ĀTMAKĀMEYAKA:- They are mentioned by Patañjali[3] as a people, but it is difficult to identify them.

SINDHU:- The name of the famous river was also the appellation of a political unit,[4] and it formed a satrapy of the Achaemenian emperor Darius (Hidauu).[5] Sindhudeśa comprised the upper Indus.

SAUVĪRA:- Sindhu and Sauvira are generally associated together,[6] both in inscription and in literature. According to Rapson,[7] the two parts of the compound word Sindhu-Sauvīra are often used separately, as names having nearly the same meaning, and he identified it with the modern province of Sindh. The late Dr Johnston in a note on 'Demetrias in Sind' pointed out that it was quite clear from Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, ii.30.32-3, that Sindhu and Sauvīra were different countries. They occupied much of the Indus valley from the sea-coast up-

---

1. VII. Chap.49, 1934.
2. The Invasion of Alexander, p.150 n.
3. IV. 2.52 p.202, L.16.
4. VII. 1.39 p.257, L.2.
5. Cf. C.H.I. Vol.I. p.324.
6. E.I. Vol.VIII. p.36.f; Mahābh, VI. Chap.9, L.361.
7. Ancient India, p.168.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

wards. ~~The Sindhus may be placed on the sea-coast and the Sauvīras further north. (J.R.A.S. 1939 p.229).~~ The Jūnāgadh inscription of a later period makes it clear that the two political units were distinct and separate from each other. According to a Jātaka,[1] Roruka or Roruva, identified with the modern Rori or Alor, was the capital of this Janapada.

VĀHĪKA:-[2] It is distinguished by Patañjali from Vāhīkagrāma,[3] though the latter was included in the Vāhīka country. It may be identified with Bāhīka, referred to in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] as the people of the west, and according to the Mahābhārata,[5] it denoted the people of the Panjab and the Indus. The Bāhīkas[6] synonymous with Vāhīka, were different from the Vāhlīkas or Vālhīkas, and according to the Karṇaparva, they lived between the Sutlej and the Indus, with their capital at Śākala, mentioned by Patañjali as Vāhikagrāma, and were also known as Jarttikas and Āraṭṭas.[7] Pāṇini has mentioned Vāhīka villages, and those situated in Uśīnara[8] which, according to Pargiter,[9] were confined to the Panjab.

---

1. Vol.III. p.280. (Engl. Trans.)
2. I. 1.15 p.71, L.19.
3. IV. 2.104 p.293, L.20.
4. I. 7.38.
5. VIII. Chap. 43. 2030.
6. IV. 1.85 p.236, Ll.20,22.
7. Chap. 44, 2032-2033.
8. IV. 2. 117-118.
9. Ancient Indian Historical tradition, p.119.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MADRAS[1]:- The Mādrajanapada, according to the Mahābhārata[2], was included in the Vāhīka country with its territory round about Śākala or Sialkot. They seem to have held the central portion of the Panjab[3], and occupied the district of Sialkot between the rivers Chenab and Rāvī[4], or between Jhelum and Ravi[5]. In later times, they are associated with the Yaudheyas, as is evident from the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Unfortunately their coins have not been found so far.

UŚĪNARA[6]:- The country of the Uśīnaras formed part of the Vāhīkadeśa[7]. It is also mentioned by Pāṇini[8], ~~but the association of the people of this place with those of the Kuru - Pañcāla country, dates back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas.~~[9] The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[10] regards them as northerners. Zimmer places them in the North-West, but according to Macdonell and Keith, there is no reason to shift the Uśīnaras farther west than the middle country.[11]

---

1. IV. 3.100 p.314, L.20.
2. VIII. Chap. 45, L.2079.
3. Smith - Early History of India (4th Ed.) p.302.
4. C.H.I. Vol.I. p.549.
5. Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India (1871) p.185.
6. II. 4.19 p.477, L.15.
7. Cf. Kāsikā comment - Uśīnareṣu ye Vāhīkagrāmāḥ p.320.
8. II. 4.20.
9. ~~Ait. VIII. 14.~~ 10. II.9.
10. 11. Vedic Index Vol.I. p.103.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ŚIBI:- The Śibi country, called Śaibaḥ in the Mahābhāṣya[1] may have been some tract in the western Panjab. Its people are mentioned in the Ṛgveda[2] along with other minor tribes; and are noted by Pāṇini[3] and also by Alexander's historians[4] - when they were living between the Indus and the Akesines (Chenab). According to Professor Vogel,[5] Śibipur, mentioned in a Shorkot inscription, must be the site of the capital of the Śibis. Later references suggesting their migration southwards to Rājputānā are uncalled for here.

AMBAṢṬHA:- The country is mentioned by Pāṇini,[6] and its reference, according to Patañjali,[7] is implied in the Sūtra IV.1.170 as the name of a Janapada under a monarchial government. As a tribe, the Ambaṣṭhas can be traced in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[8] and they are mentioned in the Mahābhārata[9] along with the Śivis, Ksudrakas and Mālavakas who sided with the Kurus. It may be going too far to consider their status would be divagating from the main theme to Consider, but their Social structure here. ~~here in the light of the Smṛti literature~~. They are the same as the Abastanoi, Sambastai, Sabarcae or Sabagrae of Alexander's

---

1. IV. 2.52 p.282, L.11.
2. VII. 18.7.
3. IV. 2.109.
4. Arrian: Indika V.12.
5. E.I. Vol.XX, 1921 p.16.
6. VIII. 3.97.
7. P.269, L.17.
8. VIII. 21.3.
9. VI. Chap. 20, L.750.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

historians,[1] with their territory in the lower Akesines (Asiknī) river. Later geographers, like Ptolemy[2] and others, have mentioned this tribe as Amastai settled to the east of the country of the Paropamisadai.

TRIGARTA:-[3] This term Meaning the land watered by the three rivers - very probably the rivers Ravi, Beas and Sutlej, The country had formed an Āyuddhajīvī Saṁgha along with the Yaudheyas, and according to Pāṇini[4] these people were living mainly on arms. They are also referred to in the Mahābhārata[5] as allies of the Kurus, and ultimately paying homage to Yudhiṣṭira. The Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi[6] identifies Trigarta country with Jālandhara (Jālandharās-trigarttāḥ syuḥ). The Rājataraṅgiṇī[7] brings this tribe in close proximity with Kaśmīra. Though the Trigartas are considered as a mountain tribe in the Purāṇas,[8] Cunningham[9] identified their country with the Kāngrā Valley, situated near Jallandhar between the mountains of Chambā and the upper course of the Beas.

---

1. McCrindle, Op. Ref. cit. p.292.
2. Ancient Geography (Śāstrī Edition) pp.311-2.
3. VIII. 1.15 p.367, L.4.
4. V. 3.116.
5. Op. cit. Ref. 123, L.754.
6. IV. 24.
7. V. 144.
8. Mārk. 57,57; Matsya 114.56.
9. A.S.R. Vol.XIV. p.116.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PĀRASKARA:- As pointed out by Patañjali,[1] it was the name of a country (Pāraskaradeśaḥ). N.L. Dey correlated it with the Thala-Pārakara district in Sindh.[2]

BRĀHMAṆAKA:- Patañjali calls it a Janapada (Brāhmaṇako nāma janapadaḥ).[3] It might as well be the name of a ing tribe correspond to the Brachmanoi of Arrian,[4] The country is identified by Cunningham[5] with Brahmanābad in Sindh which is traced by Majumdār Śāstrī in the Kāvya-mīmāṁsā[6] as, Brāhmaṇavaha Janapada. Patañjali has contrasted a-Brāhmaṇa-deśa with a-Vṛṣala deśa,[7] the former probably indicating the country of the Sodrai, mentioned by the Greek historians[8] which may correspond to Śaudrāṇa, included in the Aiṣukāri group in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, according to the Kāśikā.[9]

JIHNAVA:- It is also mentioned as a Janapada by the Bhāṣyakāra. (Jihnavo nāma janapadaḥ)[10] along with the Ikṣvāku Janapada in the same reference (Ikṣvāko nāma janapadaḥ). The Bṛhat Saṁhitā[11] also mentions Ikṣvāku, a warrior tribe.

---

1. VI. 1.157 p.96, L.16.
2. Op. Ref. cit. p.149.
3. IV. 2.104 p.298, L.21.
4. Indika. VI. 16.
5. Op. Ref. cit. p.269.
6. Ancient Geography (Śāstrī Edition) p.691.
7. I. 4.1 p.301, L.8.
8. McCrindle, Op. Ref. cit. p.292.
9. p.305.
10. IV. 2.104 p.298, Ll.12, 14.
11. V. 75.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

JANAPADAS OF THE ĀRYĀ-VARTA:- There were a good many Janapadas in the Āryā-Varta which were well-known in earlier times.[1] The most important amongst these were:- Kuru, Pañcāla[2] (Uttara and Pūrva), Kosala and Kāśī.[3] The identifications of all these Janapadas are certain, and their position can be defined in the light of their past history. The Kuru country extended from Kurukṣetra up the river Gaṅgā with its capital at Hastināpur, mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.[4] The Pañcālas, who had divided themselves into two - the northern and the eastern ones, are traced in Vedic times[5] when they formed one composite group or Janapada; but from the period of the Epics onwards, we find two Pañcālas - the northern and the southern ones.[6] The former, according to a Jātaka story was founded by a Ceti Prince. The story of the division is told differently in the Mahābhārata,[7] and it was made consequent upon the defeat of Drupada at the hands of Droṇa. The South-Pañcāla included the territory to the east and south-east of the Kurus and the Śūrasenas, while the North-Pancāla comprised

---

1. I. 4.51 p.336, L.5.
2. IV. 3.155 p.324, Ll.18-19.
3. IV. 1.54 p.223, L.13.
4. II. 1.16 p.380, L.18.
5. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.468.
6. Vol.III. pp.460-1.
7. Ādi Parva, Chap. 140.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the districts lying east of the river Gaṅgā and north-west of Avadha.[1] According to Cunningham,[2] the extent of the great kingdom of Pañcāla was confined from the Himālaya mountains to the river Cambala. There is no reference to their respective capitals, but the Bhāṣyakāra has mentioned[3] Ahicchatra along with Kānyakubja, and Sāṁkiśa which was at a distance of 4 Yojanas from Gavīdhumata (Gavīdhumatah Sāṁkāśyaṁ catvāri yojanāni)[4] which is identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district of the United Provinces (Uttara Pradeśa).[5]

KOSALA and KĀŚĪ:- Kosala, mentioned by Pāṇini,[6] is also traced in the Mahābhāṣya along with Kāśī, and its probable capital Sāketa is mentioned by Patañjali.[7] Vārāṇasī, capital of Kāśī,[8] was situated on the river Gangā (anugaṅgāṁ Vārāṇasī).

MAGADHA:- It is mentioned as a Janapada with a king (Magadhānāṁ Rājan).[9] It comprised the country south of the Gaṅgā, corresponding to modern South-Bihar with Pāṭaliputra as its capital, situated on the river Son (anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputram).[10] It is needless to mention its long history.

---

1. Rapson: Ancient India, p.167.
2. Ref. cit. p.360.
3. IV. 1.79 p.233, L.6.
4. II. 3.28 p.455, L.17.
5. E.I. Vol.I. p.129.
6. IV. 1.171.
7. I. 3.35 p.281, L.14.
8. Ref. 148.
9. II. 1.2 p.375, L.8.
10. II. 1.16 p.380, L.18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

VIDEHA[1] and VRJI[2]:- Vṛji, in earlier times, formed a Janapada consisting of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and the Janakas of Videha[3] corresponding to modern Muzaffarpur and Darbhangha districts in North Bihar. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned them separately. The Vṛjis, like the Kuru, had the government of a family (Kuru-gārhapatam; Vṛji-gārhapatam), but the Videhas are mentioned in the list of Kṣatriyas.

ANGA and VANGA[4]:- These two Janapadas are bracketed together. The Aṅga country was well-known in the time of the Buddha and it comprised the present districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr[5]. There is no reference to its capital Champā. Vaṅga really corresponds to Western and Central Bengal, and according to Pargiter[6], it must have comprised the modern districts of Murshidābad, Nadia, Jessore, parts of Rājshāhi, Pabnā and FaridPur.

PUNDRA and ~~SUHMA~~ Suhma[7]:- Patañjali ~~has~~ associated[8] these two with the Vaṅga Janapada. Pargiter distinguished Puṇḍra from Paundra, and the former comprised the district of Maldā, a portion of Purnea to the east of the river Kosī, and part of

---

1. IV. 1.168 p.268, L.22.
2. VI. 2.42 p.126, L.4.
3. Rhys Davids; Buddhist India, p.25.
4. IV. 1.170 p.269, Ll.16-17.
5. B.C. Law: Geography of Early Buddhism, p.6.
6. J.A.S.B. 1897, p.85.
7. IV. 2.52 p.282, L.8.
8. ~~Ref~~ Op. cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Pundras alone are

Dināj̇pur and Rājshāhi districts. ~~The people of these Janapadas had an ancient past~~, mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[1], and in the Sūtras[2]. The Damodarpur Copper Plate inscriptions[3], found in the Dināj̇shāhi district, have facilitated the identification. As regards Simha, Dey[4], citing Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata, identified it with Rāḍha, and the districts of Hoogly and Burdwan. This janapada is mentioned in the Purāṇas[5], and seems to have been named after Simha, a son of Bali[6].

KALIṄGA:- Cunningham[7] defined its position as lying between the Godāvarī in the South-west and the Gaoliyā branch of the Irāvatī river in the North-west[8]. Rapson[9] spotted this Janapada between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. During the period of the Mahābhārata, Orissa was probably included in Kaliṅga with its northern boundary extending as far as Baitaraṇī[10], but later on Utkal or Orissa formed a separate unit, as we find in the Purāṇas[11].

---

1. VII. 18.
2. Baudhāyana - 1. 2. 14.
3. E.I. Vol.XV. p.138 f.
4. Ref. cit, p.195.
5. Kali, Chap. 14; Matsya, Chap. 113.
6. Visnu Purāṇa, Pt.IV. Chap. 18.
7. III. 2.115 p.120, L.26.
8. Ref.cit. p.116.
9. Ref.cit. p.164.
10. III. Chap. 114, L.10998.
11. Brahma Purāna Chap. 43.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PRĀGDEŚA:- There is a reference to Prāgādeśa[1] which, if identified with Prāgjyotiṣa, might correspond to the capital of Assam or Kāmarūpa.

AVANTI-KUNTI:- The two names are associated together.[2] Avanti was famous as a Janapada under Pradyota, with Ujjayinī as its capital in the time of the Buddha. Kunti was probably a neighbouring Janapada, as it is associated with Avanti. It is mentioned a number of times in the Mahābhārata.[3]

SURĀṢTRA:-[4] According to the Kāśikā,[5] Kunti and Surāṣtra were in close proximity to each other. It corresponds with the Syrastrene of Ptolemy, and is identified with the Peninsula of Kathiawar or Gujrāt.[6] It certainly lay outside Āryā-varta.

VIDARBHA:-[7] The Vidarbhas were an ancient people, and their country is mentioned in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa.[8] Bhima Vaidarbha is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[9] The Mahābhārata describes it as an ancient and renowned kingdom in the Deccan with Kuṇḍina (modern Kauṇḍinyapur) - Amraoti on the banks of the Varadā. According to Pargiter,[10] it comprised the valley of the Payoṣṇī, modern Purṇā and the middle

---

1. VII. 1.96 p.274, L.17.
2. IV. 1.14 p.206, L.4.
3. II. Chap. 14, L.590; IV. Ia - 12.
4. I. 1.1 p.9, L.26.
5. p.548.
6. Cf. Dey: Ref.cit. p.183.
7. IV. 1.68 p.268, L.22.
8. II. 440.
9. III. Chap. 60, L.2290.
10. Mārk. Purāṇa (Trans.) p.335n.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

portion of Tāptī, and corresponded to the western part of the modern Berar and the valley-country west of that. Cunningham included[1] Bhopal and Bhilsā to the north of the Narmadā in this kingdom. In the time of Patañjali the kingdom had recognized the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas of Vidisā, and it was divided amongst the two cousins, with the river Varadā as the demarcation line.

SOUTHERN JANAPADAS:- The Southern Janapadas, as mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya[2] are - Coda, Kaḍera, Kerala[3] and Pāṇḍya. Coḍa or Cola, corresponding to Coromondal coast, was bounded in the north by the river Pennar, in the south by Panākīnī river and to the west by Coorg and included the territory of Tanjore from Nellore to Pudukotta.[4] The Keralas were on the Malabar coast comprising, besides Malabar, Travancore, and Kanara terminating at Cape Comorin in the South.[5] The Pāṇḍyas occupied the Tinnevelly and Madurā districts.[6] As regards the Kaḍeras, their association with the people of the South can hardly be denied, but the location is doubtful.

Besides these Janapadas, there are a few more names, mentioned by Patañjali, some of which can be identified, as

---

1. Bhilsā Topes p.383.
2. IV. 1.175 p.270. Ll.3-4.
3. IV. 1.168 p.269, L.13.
4. Cf. also Mahābhārata III. 1988,; Pargiter, Ref.cit. p.332.
5. Cf. Harivaṁśa 782,12838; Pargiter, ibid., p.332.
6. Dey: Ref.cit. p.147; cf. Mahābhārata II. 1174.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for example, - Naiṣa,[1] if identified with Naiṣada, as presumed by Monier Williams,[2] might correspond to Marwar, the capital of Rājā Nala and also the kingdom of the nine Nāgas of the Purāṇas. There is a casual reference to Daśārṇa, but it is not specified as a Janapada. It is nothing strange if Patañjali was aware of it which, according to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas is grouped with the Mālavas, Utkalas and Mekhalas in the Vindhyan tract. Its capital was Vidisā (modern Bhilsā), on the Vetravatī (Betwā), according to Kālidāsa. This Daśārṇa ~~may have been~~ might be different from the one mentioned in earlier sources. Dr B.C. Law distinguished the two and identified the earlier one with the Dosarene of the Periplus. According to Wilson, eastern or south-eastern Daśārṇa formed part of the Chattisgarh district in the Central Provinces, including the old native State of Patnā.

TOWNS and VILLAGES:- The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to big cities (nagara), villages (grāma), and stations of herdsmen (ghoṣa). The village sometimes included bigger units, as for

---

1. IV. 1.170 p.269, L.
2. Sanskrit-English Dictionary p.571.

1. ३. VI. 1.89 p.69, L.
2. ४. Kiṣkindhya - 41. 8-10.
3. ५. Matsya, Chap. 114.
4. ६. Meghadūta: 1. 23-24.
5. ७. Ancient Indian tribes (Poona Ed.) p.375.
6. ८. Viṣṇu Purāna Vol.II. p.260.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

instance, the reference to the Vāhīkagrāma and Udīcyagrāma.[1] The distinction between a grāma and a nagara need not be stressed at length to ~~logical ends~~. ~~For~~ Both the units represent dwellings of inhabitants, and in fact reference to grāma implies nagara also. Thus, the usage of not eating the village cock (abhakṣyo grāmya kukkuṭa)[2] also applies to a city cock (nagara kukkuṭa), and the best course is to adopt a common sense view in distinguishing the two. The place-endings of names of cities and villages, as one finds in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, are not traced in the Mahābhāṣya in which one finds only the names of some of the important cities. Patañjali has cared to mention even the distances from one place to the other, but, with reference to villages, only the Vāhīkagrāmas find a prominent place in the Mahābhāṣya. The most important cities noted by Patañjali, which can be easily identified, are: Takṣaśilā[3] in the extreme north-west, Mathurā,[4] Pāṭaliputra,[5] Sāṁkiśa,[6] Sāketa,[7] Vārāṇasī,[8] Kauśāmbi,[9] Hastināpur[10] (22 miles north-east of Meerut, and to the south-west of Bijnor on the right bank of

---

1. IV. 2.104 p.293, L.9.
2. I. 1.1 p.4 L.17.
3. I. 3.10 p.268, L.12.
4. II. 4.7 p.474.
5. Ibid.
6. I. 3.11 p.273, L.13.
7. I. 3.25 p.281, L.14.
8. II. 1.16 p.380, L.18.
9. II. 1.1 p.371, L.22.
10. II. 1.16 p.380, L.18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Gaṅgā), Gavīdhumat,[1] which was four Yojanas from Sāṁkiśa and identified with Kudarkot in the Etah district, Ahicchatra in the Bareilly district, and Kānyakubja[2] (modern Kanauj) in the Uttara Pradeśa. The Western cities noted by the Bhāṣyakāra are: Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain), Māhiṣmatī[3] (on the right bank of Narmadā - 40 miles to the South of Indore, at one time capital of Avanti Dakṣiṇāpatha), Nāsīkya[4] and Kāñcipura[5] in the South. There are a few other names of cities but they are unidentified, as for instance, Alambusa,[6] and Śaurya[7] and Āṣṭaka[8]. The latter, according to Monier Williams,[8] was the name of two summits of the Himālaya, but was a town according to Kaiyaṭa. If it is identical with Śaurīpura, then it was another name of Mathurā, noticed in the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra.[9] Another work Ḍhala-Sāgara, however, distinguishes it from Mathurā, and its foundation is ascribed to Śaurī.[10] Āṣṭaka,[11] another unidentified place, was probably the name of a district.

VILLAGES:- It is really difficult to identify the villages

---

1. II. 3.28 p.456. L.4.
2. IV. 1.79 p.233. L.7.
3. III. 1.26 p.35. L.10.
4. VI. 1.3 p.42. L.4.
5. IV. 2.104 p.298, L.4.
6. I. 1.1 p.14. L.14.
7. I.1.57 p.150. L.23.
8. ~~Ref.cit. p.1254.~~
9. ~~S.B.E. Vol.XLV. p.112.~~
10. ~~Dey. Ref.cit. p.183.~~
11. IV. 2.104 p.298. L.24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

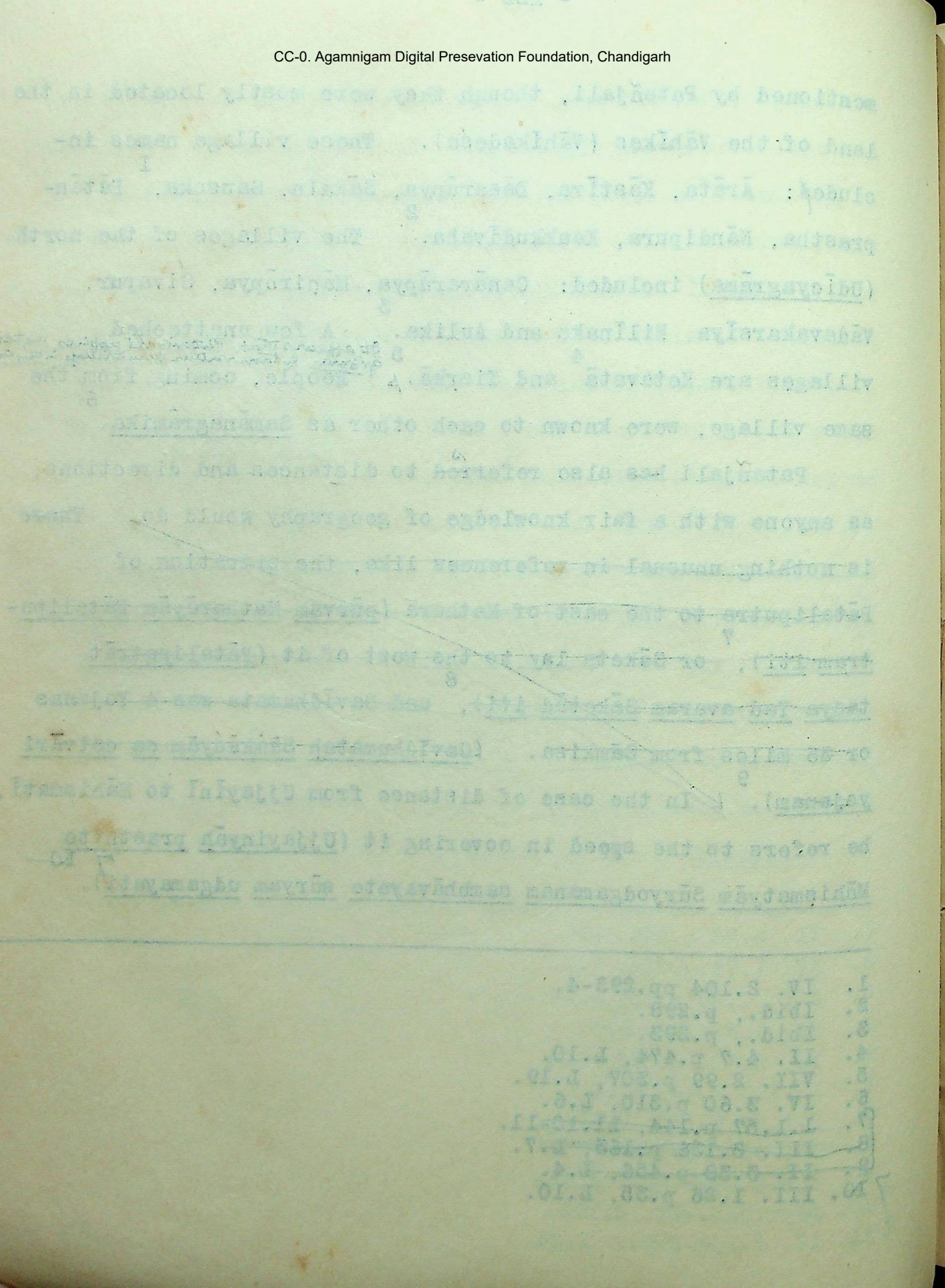
mentioned by Patañjali, though they were mostly located in the land of the Vāhīkas (Vāhīkadeśa). These village names included[1]: Ārāta, Kāstīra, Dāsarūpya[2], Śākala, Sausuka, Pātānprastha, Nāndipura, Kaukkudīvaha. The villages of the north (Udīcyagrāma) included: Canārarūpya, Māṇirūpya, Śivapur, Vādavakarsīya, Nilīnaka and Aulika.[3] A few unattached villages are Ketavatā[4] and Tisṛkā.[5] It appears that Patañjali applies the term grāma to town rather than to village in this case. People, coming from the same village, were known to each other as Samānagrāmika.[6]

Patañjali has also referred to distances and directions, as anyone with a fair knowledge of geography would do. There is nothing unusual in references like, the situation of Pāṭaliputra to the east of Mathurā (pūrvam Mathurāyām Pāṭaliputram iti)[7], or Sāketa lay to the west of it (Pāṭaliputrāt tasya yad avaram Sāketād iti)[8], and Gavīdhumata was 4 Yojanas or 36 miles from Sāṃkisa. (Gavīdhumataḥ Sāṃkāśyām ca catvāri yojanam)[9]. In the case of distance from Ujjayīnī to Māhiṣmatī, he refers to the speed in covering it (Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyām Sūryodgamanam sambhāvayate sūryam udgamayati)[10].

---

1. IV. 2.104 pp.293-4.
2. Ibid., p.298.
3. Ibid., p.293.
4. II. 4.7 p.474, L.10.
5. VII. 2.99 p.307, L.19.
6. IV. 3.60 p.310, L.6.
7. ~~I.1.57 p.144, L1.10-11.~~
8. ~~III. 3.136 p.163, L.7.~~
9. ~~II. 3.38 p.456, L.4.~~
10. III. 1.26 p.35, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A study of the data, as one finds in the Mahābhāsya, suggests that Patañjali was more familiar with the geography of Āryā-varta proper, ~~and~~ but ~~was not lacking~~ deficient in ~~information~~ his knowledge about Southern India, ~~as well~~. The list of the Janapadas is representative in character, and not confined to Āryā-varta alone. He is equally particular about the cities, and a good many Vāhika villages, as well as those in the extreme north-west, are mentioned by him. The Mahābhāsya is, thus, a fruitful source of study for the geographical information furnished by it.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

24,

× ~~He insisted stressed grammar~~ Since grammar ~~it~~ is the key to learning; & enlightenment is the best preservator of ethical purity. Thus the moral integrity of the ~~people~~ Brahmins & protection of the Vedas (scriptures) ~~were~~ could be ~~safeguarded~~ assured.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER IV.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Patañjali, ~~incidently~~, presents on the whole a faithful picture of the contemporary social life of his time. The influx of foreigners and their assimilation into the social ~~structure~~ scheme, ~~and~~ the ~~relaxed~~ relaxation of caste rules, ~~due~~ owing to mixed ~~marriages~~ unions, did not take the Bhāṣyakāra by surprise. ~~He may have noticed~~ Noticing the unorthodox trend, ~~and~~ he probably felt the need ~~for preserving~~ to preserve purity in Brāhmanas ~~who~~ so that they could justify their high social ~~position~~ standing born by birth, ~~as well as~~ and by intellectual ~~attainments~~ eminence. This ~~sub-~~ conscious ~~feeling~~ motive was ~~partially~~ mainly responsible for his monumental work in which he has ~~discussed~~ stressed, in the 'Introduction', the necessity of ~~instruction~~ a good grounding in grammar for the Śāstras. ~~A close~~ Grammar is the Key to learning and enlightenment and, thus, the best preservative of the moral and cultural integrity for the Śāstras.

A close study of the Mahābhāṣya, from the cultural point ~~of view~~ stand, ~~would~~ unfolds about interesting details of social life: as for example, Division of society into groups, Family life, Food, Household effects, Dress and ornaments, Marriage and Position of Women, Pastime and Recreations, Social evils, Festivals, and other miscellaneous subjects of interest. ~~Unfortunately~~, the ~~conclusions~~ inferences drawn from the data may be inconclusive ~~be one-sided~~ for want of corroborative ~~evidence~~ on, except, occasionally, from the Bhārhut and Sāñchī sculptures; but the correctness of the facts derived from this literary ~~source is indisputable~~ work may be accepted. Here it is ~~It~~ would,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

however, be worth while taking into consideration the Smṛtis literature, particularly Manu's with a view to assess the position of certain social groups who are mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. This sociological study should have priority in consideration.

DIVISION OF SOCIETY:- Society was, no doubt, divided into the usual four classes, but mixed marriages, whether with the higher or the lower groups, had resulted in the creation of some new castes. A complete list of the offspring from such mixed marriages is not found in the Mahābhāṣya, but, certainly, a good many of these names could be verified from the Manusmṛti, and the Mahābhārata. Shining in facial complexion (gaura), pure in conduct (śucyācāra), of a reddish brown colour (piṅgala) and with red hair, possibly dyed (kapila keśa)[1], the Brāhmaṇas were endowed with the qualities which befitted them to perform suitable karmas (tapaḥ śrutaṁ ca yonis cety etad Brāhmaṇakārakam)[2]. Taking food while walking (gacchan bhakṣyati), or voiding in a standing posture were undignified actions for them (a-Brāhmaṇo 'yam yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati)[3]. In the social organism, they occupied the foremost place (loke 'mīṣām Brāhmaṇānām pūrvam ānayeti yaḥ sarva-pūrvaḥ sa āniyate)[4]. Where a Brāhmaṇa failed in his

1. II. 2.6 p.411, L.18.
2. Ibid., L.16-17.
3. Ibid., L.22
4. VI. 2.36 p.125, L.15.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~conduct~~, ~~and~~ ~~in~~ literary and spiritual ~~accomplishments~~ attainments, birth alone entitled him a place in his social group (tapahśrutābhyām yo hīno jātibrāhmaṇa eva saḥ).[1] Such ~~class of~~ persons had degraded themselves by adopting low professions - as, for instance, the Brāhmaṇas cleaving wood (kāṣṭhabhid Brāhmaṇaḥ).[2]

The warrior class (kṣatriyas - senānīkula), Vaiśyas and Śūdras enjoyed the usual position in society, but members of some other groups presented a strange phenomenon. These included: Vṛṣalas[3] Varudas[4], Ugras[5], Niṣādas[6], Caṇḍālas[7] and Mṛtapas[8]. Some of these ~~could be traced~~ are also mentioned in Vedic literature, like the Vṛṣala[9], Cāṇḍāla[10], and Niṣāda[11]. The term Vṛṣala was ~~considered an out-caste whose touch was avoided, but later the term designated~~ used for a social outcast but later on it implied an irreligious person (adhārmika), ~~according to the śabdakalpadrum~~ as for example in the Mudrārākṣasa[12], Candragupta is ~~always addressed as~~ called a Vṛṣala[13]. The Cāṇḍāla and Niṣāda are

---

1. V. 1.115 p.363, L.15.
2. III. 4.69 p.179 L.13.
3. I. 1.39 p.97, L.16.
4. I.1.7 p.59, L.18.
5. IV. 1.97 p.253, L.5.
6. IV. 114 p.257, L.15.
7. V. 4.36 p.435, L.8.
8. II. 4.10 p.475, L.6.
9. Ibid.
10. R.V. X. 34.11; Cf. Nirukta, III. 16.
11. Vāj Sam XXX. 21; Tait Brāh, III. 4.17, 1. etc.
12. Tait Sam. IV. 5, 4, 2; Vāj Sam. XVI. 27 etc.
13. Sanskrit - Worterbuck. Vol.6, p.1342.
14. Cf. Act.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

supposed to be Non-Aryans representing tribal bodies, but the two terms later on denoted despised castes whose members were engaged in very low professions. Manu named the offspring from the union between a Śūdra father and a Brāhmaṇī mother - a caṇḍāla (śūdrād āyogavaḥ kṣattā caṇḍālas ca adhamo nṛṇām)[1], but where the father was a Brahmana and mother a Śudra the progeny was ~~but it was just the reverse in the case of~~ a niṣāda, also called Pāraśava (niṣādaḥ śūdra-kanyāyām yaḥ Pāraśava ucyate)[2]. The terms Varuḍa and Ugra ~~were also~~ are used for offspring from mixed marriages. The former belonged to one of the seven low castes called antyaja whose occupation, according to Kullūka Manu's Commentator, ~~on Manu~~, was splitting canes (Veṇor bhedanena yo jīvati buruḍa iti)[3]. The Ugra traced his origin to a Kṣatriya father and a Śūdra mother (kṣatryāc-cohūdrakanyāyām)[4] and was noted for his cruel disposition and rude conduct (krūravihāravān). ~~The~~ Mṛtapa ~~was a professional name given~~ belonged to that class of persons who ~~watched~~ looked after dead bodies, and collected dead men's clothes, or ~~executed~~ were executioners ~~criminals~~[5]. In the Ramāyaṇa, he is called śmaśānādhikārin[6], the lord of the cremation ground. ~~These~~ Persons belonging to these groups had ~~low~~ an inferior position in the social ~~organism~~ setting, partly, ~~because of~~ for their professions, and partly, ~~due to their parentage~~ for their lineage. The Śakas and the

---

1. X. 12. Cf. Maha. XIII. 2572.
2. X. 8.
3. IV. 215. (Cf. Mandalik's edition).
4. Manu. X. 9.
5. Mah. XIII. 2583.
6. I. 59.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Yavanas, living in Āryan villages and hamlets, ~~though~~ outside Āryāvarta, were not ostracized;[1] and they ~~could use~~ enjoyed the privilege of using a dining plate without polluting it. From Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra - Śūdrāṇām anirvasitānām,[2] ~~is very significant,~~ one gets the impression that foreigners ~~were not completely~~ were being gradually assimilated in Indian society without merging their separate entity ~~to an extent when they lose their separate individuality, but they were coming into close contact with the people of Āryāvarta, the then seat of Brahmanical culture.~~

FAMILY CIRCLE:- The family (kula)[3] formed the smaller unit and its members identified themselves with the interests of ~~other members, with a view to bind them together.~~ looked after the collective interest rather than the individual one for mutual welfare. In this connection, it may be interesting to assess the status of the existing members, and that of the new entrants ~~as parts of the household~~ in the family group. The families were high and noble, like those of the regal class (Rājakula, Rājaputrī, Rājaduhitā),[4] or of a degraded nature (dauṣakulyam).[5] There were certain families named after the teacher, or the preceptor, as for instance, Gārgyakulam, Vaidakulam, Āñjakulam,[6] Kārīṣagandhyāpatikulam,[7] and a few more named after the position or the designation of the person, such as Grāmaṇīkulam[8] or Senānīkulam.[9] The members

---

1. Cf. Ind. Cul. Vol. I.
2. II. 4.10 p.475.
3. I. 1.51 p.128, L.9.
4. VI. 3.70 p.168, L.12.
5. VIII. 341 p.434, L.5.
6. II. 4.64, p.493.
7. VI. 1.13 p.20, L.4.
8. I. 1.7 p.128, L.9.
9. I. 1.62 p.161, L.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of this unit constituted blood kindred with varying status, as the eldest, the second and the youngest, when there were more than one son (bahuṣu putreṣv etad upapannam bhavaty ayam me jyeṣṭhaḥ putro 'yam me madhya-mo 'yam me kanīyān iti).[1] The family group included brother and his son (bhrātuṣputra),[2] and a number of other relations (bahavo 'bhisambandhaḥ) but the circle was not confined to marital relations only (ārthā yaunā maukhāḥ śrauvāś ca).[3] The Gṛhapati[4] with his bhāryā or patnī, both terms being synonymous, looked after the domestic interest. ~~The~~ Son ~~in the family~~ was supposed to be the remover of sorrow (śokāpanudaḥ putro jātaḥ),[5] and his birth in the family was hailed with joy. The nāmakaraṇa ceremony took place on the tenth day after the birth of the child (daśamyā uttarakālam putrasya jātasya nāma bidadhyāt).[6] The daughter's son (dauhitra) and grandson (pautra),[7] were fairly important personages ~~too, occupied important places~~ in a family. The relations on the in-law's side included the parents-in-law (śvaś ura śvaśrū).[8] The maternal and paternal aunts (mātṛṣvasā pitṛṣvasā),[9] the maternal uncle and aunt (his wife)

---

1. I. 1.21 p.77 L.20.
2. I. 2.71 p.250 L.13.
3. I. 1.49 p.119 L.21.
4. IV. 4.90 p.334, L.16.
5. III. 2.5 p.98, L.16.
6. I. 1.1 p.4, L.22.
7. IV. 1.104 p.254, L.27.
8. I. 2.71 p.250, L.20.
9. IV. 1.96 p.252, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(mātula-mātulānī or mātulī)[1], the grandparents on the father's and the mother's side (pitāmaha-pitāmahī; mātāmaha-mātāmahī)[2] were other Yauna relations. ~~The list may have been origin-~~ could mean The Mahābhāṣya does not add other relations ~~ally more exhaustive, though other types of relations are not found in the Mahābhāṣya~~. to the family group. The reference to the maternal uncle (mātula), Āṣāḍhasena in the Pabhosā record[3] indicates the broad nature of the family circle. The members of at least three generations, pitāmaha pitā and pautra in direct line belonged to the family group, as one finds from the comment notices in ~~on the application of~~ relating to the Yuvasaṁjñā.

FOOD:- The evidence, ~~provided~~ adduced by Patañjali on the subject of 'Food and Drinks,' is exhaustive, with vegetarian and non-vegetarian items, solid and liquid food, arrangements for meals, milk preparations, sweets, wines, and fruits, and even dinner etiquette rules. Fasts were ~~also observed~~ undertaken for some set purposes, like, the one for propitiating the Sun (Ādityavrata)[4]. ~~and~~ In the Mahānāmnīvrata[5] ~~in which~~ verses ~~of that name~~ called Mahā-nāmnī were recited. During the period of fasting, people lived ~~either~~ on water (ab-bhakṣa)[6], ~~or on air alone~~ and sometimes even without it. (vāyu-bhakṣa). The word bhojya denoted food fit ~~to be eaten~~ for eating (bhakṣya), whether ~~of~~ solid (khara-

---

1. IV. 1.49 p.220, L.21.
2. IV. 2.36 p.277, Ll.17,22.
3. E.I. Vol.II. p.240.
4. I. 2.64 p.246, L.28.
5. V. 1.94 p.360, L.9.
6. I. 1.1 p.6, L.23.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

viśada) ~~or~~ liquid (drava), ~~substance~~; but ~~in a particular~~ at one place reference in the Mahābhāṣya its use is restricted to solid food alone, as for instance, in the illustration (guḍena Saṁsṛṣṭā guḍasaṁsṛṣṭāḥ-guḍasaṁsṛṣṭā dhānā guḍadhānāḥ.[1] A study of the data would ~~reveal~~ suggest the taste of the people, and their ~~choice of food~~ favourite dishes.

(a) Types of food - Vegetarian. A vegetarian was known as śākabhojin,[2] and he had to depend exclusively on grains and vegetables for his staple food, though there was a wider choice of alternatives. These included śāli[3] (a rice of ten varieties),[4] hāyana (a sort of red rice),[5] yava (barley), and ṣaṣṭika[6] (another kind of rice ripening in sixty days). Some other ~~types of grains used~~ Cereals were: yavānī[7] (ptychotis ajowan), a kind of ~~bad~~ inferior barley, gavīdhuka[8] boiled with rice (gavīdhuka yavāgū)[9] and with barley (gavīdhukasaktavaḥ)[10] in preparing gruel, and tila (sesamum indicum). The ~~supplementary food products~~ auxiliary edibles, popularly known as pulses, included: mudga,[11] rājamāṣa, and māṣa,[12] a

---

1. II. 1.35 p.387, L.9.
2. II. 1.69 p.406, L.7.
3. I. 1.23 p.82, L.5.
4. IV. 1.27 p.213, L.3.
5. I. 1.1 p.42, L.21.
6. V. 1.90 p.360, L.3.
7. IV. 1.49 p.220.
8. IV. 3.136 p.323, L.2.
9. ~~Cf.~~ Vedic Index Vol.I. p.223 and ref.
10. III. 2.28 p.102, L.6.
11. V. 1.20 p.345, L.25.
12. I. 1.51 p.127, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

kind of pulse having red marks, with black and grey spots. Certain ~~things~~ stuff known as saṁskṛtam could be taken without any further preparation or dressing (saṁskṛtaṁ hi nāma tad bhavati yat tad eva apakṛṣya abhy-ava-hriyate, like, groats grounded on stone (dārṣadaḥ saktava iti), but barley pounded in a mortar needed ~~further~~ extra cooking before it could be eaten (na ca yāvaka ulūkhalād eva apkṛṣya abhy-ava-hriyate 'vaśyaṁ randhanādīni pratīkṣyāṇi).[1] The dressing of substances was done through different processes: miśrīkaraṇa - the act of mixing, seasoning an ingredient; vyañjana - the use of anything in cooking or in preparing food; and using sauce and condiment. Failure to do so ~~made~~ rendered the food tasteless. The two sūtras of Pāṇini - Annena vyañjanam and Bhakṣeṇa miśrīkaraṇam, considered together by Patañjali[2] give some information regarding the process of dressing articles of food before they could be served on the table. Dadhi-curd was used for sprinkling (dadhyupasiktā),[3] and tamarind sauce (taittidīkam)[4] ~~possibly for giving~~ gave flavour. Palāla - ground sesamum, sūpa - pulse juice, and śāka vegetables were mixed with other substances. Only mūlaka[5] and alābū[6] - the fruit of the bottle-gourd mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya, are placed in the list of vegetables in the

---

1. IV. 3.25 p.307 L.8 f.
2. II. 1.34-35 p.386.
3. II. 1.35 p.387, L.8.
4. IV. 3.156 p.326, L.8.
5. IV. 1.48 p.219, L.20.
6. VI. 3.61 p.164, L.9

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Arthaśāstra[1] and the Kāma-sūtra[2] of Vātsyāyana.

The favourite vegetarian food was boiled rice, called odana[3], also known as bhakta[4], which was sometimes cooked with meat (māṁsaudana)[5]. It was much relished, and Patañjali has compared the heap of rice served on a plate to the mountain Vindhya (Vindhyo vardhitakam iti)[6]. This staple food was used in the Vedic times[7], and continued to be popular ~~even~~ as well in the later period[8]. Yavāgū or rice-gruel, was a liquid substance, possibly licked with the fingers of the hand (vilepi) or ~~dissolved in~~ mixed with water and then drunk (peya). It is associated with payas - milk, and sūpa meant for Brāhmaṇas (brāhmaṇārthā Yavāgū iti)[9]. The Kāśikā mentions yavāgū of a thin variety (alpānnā yavāgūr uṣnikā ity ucyate)[10], and another - a scaldy one (nakhaṁpacā yavāgū)[11]. In earlier literature it is referred to as a barley gruel, but it also denoted weak decoctions of other kinds of Jartila and Gavīdhuka[12]. Sūpa, or ~~the liquid~~ thin curry, dressed with salt (lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ)[13], ~~hed~~ made a good combination with boiled rice (iha ca bahur odanaḥ bahuḥ sūpa

---

1. XXIV. p.117.
2. I. 28.
3. I. 1.1 p.42, L.17.
4. III. 1.26 p.33, L.26.
5. II. 3.13 p.450, L.1.
6. I. 4.24 p.327, L.
7. RV. VIII. 97,10; Śat Brāh. II. 5,3,4. etc.
8. Mil. p.16, L.18; Mahāvastu. Vol.I. p.327, etc.
9. II. 1.36 p.388, L.25.
10. p.422 (Benares Ed.)
11. p.174.
12. Tait-Sam. VI. 2,5,2.
13. Ibid., V. 4,3,2.
14. I. 2.51 p.227, L.13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

iti)[1]. A pea-soup was also prepared (kālāya sūpa)[2].

The vegetarian menu ~~also~~ included many other items, some of which were meant for breakfast, or afternoon nourishment, such as, kṛsara[3] - a mixture of sesamum and rice, with a few peas and spices added to it, and śaktu[4] - groats mixed with molasses or dadhi. Sweets and sweet cakes included: śaskuli[5] made of ground rice, sugar and sesamum and cooked in oil; pūpa[6] or apūpa[7], mixed with ghee (ghṛtavant), or made of rice and barley; pistapindī[8] - a flour cake, and palala[9] - a kind of sweetmeat made of guda, sesamum and sugar and cooked. The substances, used in making sweet preparations, were madhu[10] or honey, guda[11] - molasses produced from sugar cane juice, and śarkarā[12] or ~~granulated~~ crystal sugar. The sweet balls, popularly known as modaka[13], were liked by children. Certain cold drinks soothed the wearied people in summer, as for example, gudodaka[14], a thin liquid substance, being a mixture of water and molasses. Payas - milk and whey (mathitam) were available

---

1. I. 4.21 p.321, L.10.
2. V. 1.19 p.344, L.18.
3. VIII. 3.59 p.439, L.12.
4. I. 1.57 p.149, L.11.
5. I. 1.47 P.116, L.23.
6. I.1.1 p.38, L.5.
7. I.2.45 p.217, L.13.
8. II. 1.57 p.399, L.24.
9. I. 1.1 p.38 L.6.
10. I. 1.1 p.19, L.19
11. I. 4.49 p.333, L.3.
12. IV. 4.83 p.334, L.11.
13. V. 1.119 p.366, L.9.
14. I. 4.2 p.310, L.14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from
to shopkeepers known as māthitika.[1] Haiyaṁgavina[2] was clarified butter prepared from last day's milk.

(b) Non-vegetarian. The non-vetetarians seem to have enjoyed both types of food, as there were some restrictions imposed by custom regarding the slaughter of animals. ~~As~~ mentions that mentioned by Patañjali five five-nailed animals could ~~not~~ be taken (pañca pañcanakhā abhakṣyā). but not others (anye 'bhakṣyaḥ) The wild boar and the wild cock could be eaten, but not those from the village itself (abhakṣyo grāmyakukkuṭo 'bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkara).[3] A town-born boar or cock also enjoyed this privilege (nāgaro 'pi na bhakṣyate).[4] A glutton, fond of flesh, was known as māṁsaśīlaḥ.[5] There is a reference to deer being sacrificed for preparing meat-rice (māṁsaudanāya vyāharati mṛgaḥ.[6] Raw flesh was known as kravya[7] and that of sheep was called avermāṁsam.[8] The meat, having a thick membrance or omentum (pravapāni māṁsāni)[9] was, probably, relished. One who had tasted the flesh of sārnga bird was called śārṅgajagdhī.[10] Onions (palāṇḍu)[11] were, probably, included in the non-vegetarian menu, though in literature their use is forbidden

---

1. V. 3.83 p.425, L.18.
2. V. 2.23 p.375, Ll.2,5.
3. I. 1.1 p.5, L.16 f.
4. VII. 3.14 p.320, L.22.
5. III. 2.1 p.95, L.18.
6. II. 3.1 p.450, L.1.
7. III. 2.69 p.108, L.6.
8. IV. 2.60 p.283, L. 20.
9. VIII. 4.16 p.458, L.12.
10. II. 2.36 p.437, L.21.
11. Ibid.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for the Kṣatriyas.[1] The fish eater was required to remove scales and small bones before eating it (śakala-kaṇṭakān utsṛjati)[2].

(c) Fruits and Drinks. ~~Despite~~ In a lavish menu, items of desert and sweet wines were not left out. The fruits included: Vimba or Bimba[3] (momordica monadelpha) to which the lips of women are compared by poets; dāḍima[4], pomegranate; mṛdvikā[5], a kind of wine having reddish grapes, and kuvalī[6], the fruit of jujube-tree. These are only a few ~~noticed~~ Fruits mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya; ~~though~~ but there were certainly other fruits, as well. Different kinds of drinks, both soft and ~~alcoholic~~ strong, were enjoyed by the people. In the case of a Brāhmaṇī, religious penalty was attached to drinking, and one, so doing, incurred the risk of being deprived of the company of her husband in the next world (yā Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati nainām devāḥ patiloke nayanti)[7]. Its use, however, was not unknown in a Brāhmaṇa family. The Bhāṣyakāra (Kilālapānām Brāhmaṇakulānām)[8]. ~~This particular spirituous liquor, known as kilāla, is also noticed in the Atharvaveda, as a heavenly drink similar to amṛta~~[9]. mentions the following ~~Other kinds of wines~~,

---

1. Divyāvadāna, p.409, 21.
2. I. 2.39 p.212, L.6.
3. I. 1.58 p.153, L.13.
4. I. 1.1 p.38, L.5.
5. VI. 3.42 p.158, L.16.
6. IV. 3.170 p.323, L.5.
7. III. 2.8 p.99. L.8.
8. ~~VI. 1.102 p.80, L.21.~~
9. ~~IV. 11. 10.~~

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

types of alcoholic drinks :
mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya, are: Surā[1] - which was distilled from molasses; drākṣā - which was less sweet, though mixed with molasses (gudakalpā drākṣā)[2], or very sweet (bahu-gudo drākṣā)[3]; and a spirituous liquor made of rice called prasannā which had often more oily substance in it (bahu-tailam prasannā)[4]. Some other drinks were; and Śuṇḍā[5], a spirituous liquor, though but the term also denoted a tavern where it was available, and its seller was known as śuṇḍara[6]. One fond of it was called śauṇḍa[7]. Āsuti[8], a brew mixture, mentioned earlier by Pāṇini, was a religious drink prepared by the priest, known as Āsuti-vala[9]. Flavour was sometimes given to these alcoholic preparations by mixing onion juice (ayam palāṇḍunā surām pibet[10]. Drinking to the lees was not unknown, and there is a reference to taking a complete jar (ghaṭimdhamaḥ), and through a pipe made of reed (nādimdhamaḥ[11]).

DINNER ETIQUETTE:- Certain conventional dinner rules were observed in polite refined society with a view to maintain the dignity of social relations. These included table manners, and those

---

1. I. 2.62 p.242, L.25.
2. V. 3.67 p.419, L.16.
3. V. 3.68 p.421, L.27.
4. Ibid. V.3.66 p421. L 27
5. IV. 1.52 p.246, L.26.
6. V. 3.88 p.427, L.4.
7. II. 1.1 p.360, L.8.
8. VI. 4.194 p.229, L.23.
9. V. 2.112.
10. V. 3.66 p.419, L.4.
11. III. 2.29 p.102, Ll.15, 16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

relating to the extending and acceptance of invitations to dinner. The servers were not expected to partake while the guests were eating (Brāhmaṇā bhojyantām māṭharakauṇḍinyau parivevisṭām iti na idānim tau bhuñjāte.[1] Invitations were generally extended to members of one's caste (anyo 'nyam ime Brāhmaṇa-kule bhojayataḥ.)[2] Certain Brāhmaṇas, known as śrāddhabhojin, accepted invitations to partake obsequial food; ~~but~~ those, who avoided such invitations, were called a-śrāddhabhojī Brāhmaṇaḥ.[3] There were two kinds of invitations - nimantraṇa and āmantraṇa. The former was extended ~~to par-take~~ in offering havya-oblation to gods, and kavya-oblation to manes. ~~food~~. It was obligatory to accept it (evaṁ tarhi yan niyogataḥ kartavyaṁ tan nimantraṇam,) as its refusal entailed sin (brāhmaṇena siddham bhujyatām ity ukte dharmaḥ pratyākhyātuḥ.[4] Āmantraṇa was only a friendly invitation without any obligation attached to it. A common meal was called samāśa[5] which, probably implied taking food on the same table, or in the same ~~line~~ row, as is generally the custom, on the floor; but ~~not~~ in ~~the~~ different ~~same~~ plates. In certain customary feasts, the choice was limited to a particular item, as for example, the vaṭaka cakes were eaten on the vaṭakinī Paurṇamāsī[6] day.

---

1. I. 1.2 p.28 L.14.
2. VIII. 1.14 p.370, L.19.
3. III. 2.80 p.109 1.19.
4. III. 1.161 p.165 Ll.13-15.
5. I. 1.50 p.123 L.3.
6. V. 2.82 p.388, L.20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS:- These included ~~not~~ ~~only~~ utensils used in cooking, as well as those laid on the dinner table, ~~but~~ and others ~~things as well~~, needed for ordinary household comforts. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned[1] a smaller water jar ghaṭikā, kuṇḍikā[2] - a still smaller vessel, popularly known as student's water pot, and kumbha[3] - another type of water storing vessel. ~~It~~ The last one was big enough to store grain which could last for some time. ~~One~~ The person doing so, was known as kumbhīdhānya (yasya kumbhyām eva dhānyam sa kumbhīdhānyaḥ)[4]. Other vessels included: kuṇḍa[5] - which was bowl shaped, as illustrated by Fergusson[6] in his work showing a woman holding a bowl in her left hand, and a ghaṭa - covered with a glass in her right hand; and sthālī[7] - a big earthen dish or pan, now known as thālī, in which ~~the solid and liquid~~ food was served. There is a reference to sthālīpiṭhara[8], probably, a wooden stool on which the plate was placed. Ukhā[9], a boiler or caldron, is noted by Patañjali by way of comparison. There were also special jars for storing ghee (ghṛtaghaṭa) and oil (tailaghaṭa)[10]. Śarāva[11] was a small shallow dish or cup which is mentioned in earlier literature,[12] as a measure of

---

1. I. 1.1 p.7, L.13.
2. I. 4.44 p.102, L.12.
3. I. 1.58 p.153, L.1.
4. I. 3.7 p.264, L.2.
5. I. 1.1 p.38, L.5.
6. Tree and Serpent Worship, pl.XXXa.
7. IV. 1.1 p.194, L.17.
8. I. 4.101 p.350, L.21.
9. IV. 1.6 p.202, L.13.
10. II. 1.1 p.364, L.18.
11. I. 1.72 p.182, L.24.
12. Cf. Vedic Index Vol.II. p.358 and ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

corn, and caru[1] was particularly used in preparing oblation of the same name. Some of the vessels, like those for storing water, oil or ghee were earthen, but copper or bronze ones were not unknown, and were used for eating rice and ghee, as well as milk[2] (bahukṣīraghṛtam odanam kāṃsyapātryām bhuñjīranniti). Some of these utensils - a bowl, plate or platter and a water vessel-are also noticed in the Bhārhut sculptures.[3]

Other household effects included: soft chairs (mañcikā)[4] bedsteads (khatvā),[5] and a lamps (pradīpā)[6] - ~~which were~~ of two kinds - a standing one with a heavy base to keep it steady, and a hanging one, as shown in the Bhārhut sculptures.[7] The chairs with back and arms, or plain ones, like ordinary stools were different from those ~~occupied~~ used by the ~~regal~~ noble class.[8] The bedstead was a simple oblong frame supported on four legs, called khaṭvāpāda[9] by Patañjali with club feet, exactly like the common bedstead of the present day.

HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS:- The information supplied by the Mahābhāṣya on this topic is meagre, but the Bhārhut illustrations

---

1. IV. 2.7 p.273, L.12.
2. VIII. 2.3 p.388, L.12.
3. Cunningham: Bhārhut - Pls. XXVIII. figs 2, 3; XL. fig.3.
4. IV. 1.3 p.201, L.3.
5. Ibid., L.25.
6. II. 1.1 p.359, L.6.
7. Pls. XXVIII. fig.3; XVI. fig.3.
8. Ibid., Pls. XXV. 3; XXVII. 12; XLVIII. 2.
9. I. 2.48 p.224, L.16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

are helpful in this matter. The dwelling houses were of one stereotyped pattern,[1] consisting of a long room with a pointed or semi-cylindrical domed roof, and a small opening ~~to give~~ for air and light on each side.[2] B.M. Barua suggested that the home of the common people was a mud-walled hut, provided with doors and small windows, and the same pattern was used for the market shops. The abodes of hermits and ascetics were mere huts, with roofs thatched with straw and the four sides tapered to a point marked by a pinnacle.[3] The best illustration of such huts is provided by the one, fenced with a bamboo palisade, and adorned with a somewhat ornamental pinnacle.[4] Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned gavākṣa[5] or round window, and ~~has also referred to~~ aṭṭālikā or tower. The compound aṭṭālikābandham[6] has been used by him to illustrate the formation of those towers.[7] The plastering (kuṭṭimā) of the floor had not changed the simplicity of the houses, which were in striking contrast, at least, in size, with palaces of which only one specimen,[8] the vaijayanta prāsāda, is seen in the sculptures. It is a three-storied building, divided into

---

1. Cunningham: ~~Ref~~.cit. Pl. XLIII. fig.I; XLV. fig.7.
2. Bhārhut - Vol.III. p.136 (fig., 102,94,143).
3. Ibid., fig.131.
4. Ibid., fig.105.
5. III. 3.156 p.165, L.5.
6. III. 4.41 p.176, L.17.
7. IV. 4.20 p.330, L.10.
8. Cunningham: Bhārhut, p.118; pl.XVI. fig.1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

three perpendicular portions with an open pillared hall in the basement, and three arched openings on each section. ~~There~~ Further details are ~~no other details~~ wanting, and there is no reference to ~~as for example~~, the plastering of walls (kaṭalepana), partitions (bhitte), separate apartments for ladies (antahpura), and the painting of the house (varnitā), as one finds in the Sanskrit Buddhist literature[1] of a later period. ~~There is, however, no reference to~~ The Bhāṣyakāra is silent about the material used in the construction of houses. Megasthenes mentioned[2] the beautiful wooden palace of the Mauryas, but the monuments of this period suggest a change from wood to stone or bricks, which may have imposed some limitations on the size and types of houses. This may be the main reason for a single pattern of houses, as one finds in the Bhārhut sculptures.

(a) DRESS and ORNAMENTS:- Evidence relating to these items is available from several sources - the Mahābhāṣya, Bhārhut sculptures and ~~the~~ terracotta figurines of that period which have been found at many places in Northern India. The use of clothes was primarily to cover the body (śaṭakān ācchādayāmaḥ)[3]. The lower garment was called upasaṁvyāna[4] corresponding to modern dhoṭī[5] - loin cloth which was generally white (śukla vastra). The upper cloth for covering shoulders was called Paṭa. Its

---

1. Saddh. Pund. III. 39-40; Lalit. XIV. p.186.
2. Strabo, XV. 1.36.
3. I. 1.1 p.19, L.5.
4. I. 1.36 p.93, L.12.
5. I. 1.11 p.67, L.23.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

white colour (paṭaḥ śuklaḥ)[1] made it distinct from the red turban (lohito uṣnīṣaḥ), which was the common dress of a priest (lohito uṣnīṣaḥ ṛtvijaḥ pracaranti).[2] Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to ~~the use of~~ cotton (kārpāsa)[3] and wool (ūrṇa)[4] The sewing of clothes was done through a sharp needle (tīkṣṇāyā sūcyā sīvyan).[5] The use of tunics was known even in earlier times, and the Bhārhut sculptures have a single figure of a soldier dressed in tunic with long sleeves, covering the mid thigh. It is tied in two places by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double looped bow. The dhoṭī, as usual, covers the loins and thighs, reaching below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front, in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds.[6] Boots were also used. Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to leather shoes (upānaḥ carma), as well as wooden sandals (upānaḥ dāru).[7] They are also noticed in the solitary figure of a soldier at Bhārhut, reaching up to the legs, and fastened by a cord with two tassels. The lay devotees are bare-footed, as it is against the custom of the country to put on shoes in places of worship.

---

1. I. 4.21 p.321, L.16.
2. I. 1.27 p.86, L.7.
3. IV. 1.55 p.224, L.14.
4. V. 1.3 p.338, L.19.
5. II. 1.2 p.375, L.20.
6. Cunningham: ~~Ref~~.cit. p.32.
7. V. 1.2 p.337, Ll.6,7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The dress of ladies consisted of a skirt, generally white in colour (śuklā śāṭī).[1] There is no reference to the covering of the upper part, but one can hardly doubt that pata was used. ~~In sculptures~~, the upper parts of the figures of Yakṣiṇīs Candā and Cūlakokā ~~is~~ are shown naked in sculptures, but in the case of the former there are perceptible marks of the folds or creases, as Cunningham pointed out,[2] of a light muslin wrapper under the right breast. He thought it probable that an upper garment of a light material was intended to be shown by the sculptor, but its folds were purposely avoided, with a view to display different types of necklaces, collars and girdles. The head was covered by elaborately worked veils, of which specimens can be noticed in the Yakṣiṇī figures at Bhārhut.[3] The sculptor found it rather difficult to show the wrapping of the veil which covers the shoulders down to the waist, and the parallel creases, seen under the right breast, are probably intended to show that the Chaddar - upper covering, was wrapped round the body. Strabo also mentioned[4] embroidered garments, interwoven with gold.

The dyeing of clothes was very common.[5] Patañjali has referred to blue (nīla), yellow (pīta), green (harid), and brown red (kāsāya) colours. Red was very popular, and the

---

1. II. 2.6 p.410, L.21.
2. Ref. cit. p.33.
3. Ref. cit. p.33.
4. XV. 1.69.
5. IV. 2.2 p.271, L.10 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

turban cloth was dyed in that colour. The substance used for dyeing was known as śakala, a kind of black pigment, but clay or slime (kardama), was well-known. ~~It was done by the person himself (rarañje vastram svayam eva).~~ A taste for the combination of colours is apparent from a reference to the white amidst the red (dvayor raktayor vastrayor madhye śuklam vastram tadguṇam upa-labhyate).

(b) ORNAMENTS:- Patañjali ~~has referred to~~ mentions four kinds of ornaments which could be made out of a lump of gold without disturbing the substance, (ākrtir anyā ca anyā ca bhavati dravyam punas tad eva). These ~~include~~ are: rucaka, kaṭaka svastika and kuṇḍala. Rucaka was a kind of gold ornament or necklace, while kaṭaka was a bracelet of gold or shell. The svastika and kuṇḍala were a triangular pieces, and an ear-ring respectively. ~~These were not the only~~ Besides these ornaments, a few more ~~can be listed by taking into consideration those which are~~ noticed in the Bharhut sculptures, can be listed. ~~in the sculptures from Bhārhut.~~ The use of ornaments ~~was~~ were not confined to ladies only, but men also ~~put on~~ used a few. Ear-rings, necklaces, armlets and bracelets were ~~worn by~~ put on both, but forehead pieces like latikā or the fastened leaf, long collars, garlands, zones or girdles and anklets were exclusively meant for ladies. The svastika of Patañjali, was a triangular

---

1. Ibid.
2. ~~III. 1.90 p.70, L.21.~~
2 3. I. 1.29 p.206.
3 4. I. 1.1 p.7 L.15 f.of
4 5. Cf. Cunningham: Ref.cit. Pl.XLIX. fig.1-9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

crest-jewel. The ear-rings, popularly known as, karṇikā or kuṇḍala[1], were of different types, as shown by Cunningham. The pendants attached were given ~~attached to these, had~~ separate names, as bell pendant now called jhumkā in Hindī, but the Buddhist triratna was very popular. Necklace, corresponding to rūcaka of Patañjali, now called hāra, could be a short (kaṇṭhabhūṣā), or a long one (lalāntikā), reaching as far as the breasts. The triratna figured prominently in it. Armlets, used ~~by members of both the sexes~~ uniformly[2], were bands of gold with precious stones embedded in them. They are now known as Bāju, and are used by ladies alone. Bracelets, corresponding to kaṭaka of the Mahābhāṣya, had succession of strings and beads, either square or round in shape; and their number varied.[3] Girdles were exclusively meant for ladies, and there are some good specimens of this ornament in the Bhārhut sculptures.[4] Some of these have small bunches or bells sounding with the gait of the lady. Anklets and finger rings were minor ornaments. The former was either of spiral coils, or of consecutive circles of gold pieces one over the other; the upper and the lower ones were ornamented.[5]

These ornaments ~~were not exclusively noted for their~~ had something more than their

---

1. Ibid., fig.12.
2. Ibid., pl.XLIX. fig.15,16,18,19.
3. Ibid., p.37.
4. Ibid., pl.Li. fig.3.
5. Ibid., figs. 4 and 5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

decorative value; ~~but~~ they harmonised with the beauty of the body. The use further depended on the taste of the person wearing them with a little of restraint, but not wanting in refinement. The tendency to crowd the body with ornaments ~~was more conspicuous~~ amongst the ladies; for men it was merely an attempt to show off.

HAIR ARRANGEMENT:(a) FACE DECORATION:- The arrangement of the hair was not so simple, as may appear, with a parting line in the middle (sīmanta), and the mass of hair gathered together at the back and plaited into one or two long rolls hanging down as low as the waist, or twisted and tied into a large knot at the back (keśānām samāhāraś cūḍa/keśacūḍah).[1] There are also references to shaven-headed persons (muṇḍo), those with twisted hair (jaṭī), or keeping a tuft or lock of hair on the crown of the head (śikhī).[2] The cutting of hair was also known (keśānvapati),[3] and some also shaved their moustache (keśaśmaśrū vapati).[4] Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to tanukeśyah striyah[5] - meaning 'ladies with delicate hair,' or 'keeping bob-wig' which one hardly finds in the sculptures of that period. The figures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, however, show different methods of arranging the hair. In the first type, the loose hair is allowed to fall at the back, and then

---

1. II. 2.24 p.424, L.1.
2. I. 1.2 p.17, L.18.
3. VI. 1.9 p.14, L.12.
4. I. 3.1 p.256, L.12.
5. VI. 3.34 p.152, L.27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the end is looped and knotted,[1] or it is arranged in a top-knot[2] when the lady has a head dress. In the third type, the falling hair, ~~falling~~ down the back, is divided into two halves, and that, too, further into tassels,[3] and then plaited. Men generally ~~keep~~ kept long hair tied in a top-knot around which the folds of the turban are arranged.[4] The fashion of keeping plaited hair by the ladies, coiled round the head in a top-knot, is also observed in sculptures.[5] In some cases, the hair is fastened by an ornament.[6] The ascetics, as usual, have long hair worn round the crown in a cone-like fashion, or simply let loose, with their wavy beards.[7] Curly locks touching the neck are favourite with musicians, charioteers and soldiers.[8]

A terracotta figurine of the Śunga period,[9] now in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford, is notable for its ornamental elaboration and coiffure arrangement. The head dress of this figure is most attractive. The hair seems to be enclosed in a close fitting bonnet (or fillet?) bordered from four rows of beads and terminating in two flower tassels. On each side

---

1. Barua - Bhārhut. Vol.III. pl.XXIII - top.
2. Ibid., pl.XXX. 23. left side.
3. Ibid., pl.XXXIX, 34.
4. Ibid., pl.XXX. 23. 6p
5. Cf. Fergusson - ~~Ref~~.cit. pl.XXX. fig.1; XXXII. fig.2.
6. Ibid., pl.XXXV. fig.2.
7. Ibid., pl.XXV. fig.1.
8. Ibid., pl.XXXIV. fig.I.22.
9. J.I.S.O.A. Vol.X. p.94.f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the bonnet are two turban like roles of cloth, each bound with a belt and highly ornate. The left one, slightly bigger, is made up of five vertical stripes with strings of beads at regular intervals; but the right one is embellished with six rows of flower ornament, between which are strings of beads. There are five emblems stuck into the right side.

The arranging of hair needed oil, comb and mirror, while collyrium sticks, unguent vases and pots were required for the make up of the face. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned candana - sandal, gandha - perfume, and añjana or black pigment[1] applied to the eye lashes. There is no reference to the method ~~of making~~ preparing cosmetics ~~preparations~~, and their proper application. A few centuries later, ~~nor the way in which they were used~~, Aśvaghoṣa, ~~a little later, has~~ later referred to the pounding of ointments, and the application of candana paste with the help of a stick (pattrāṅguli)[2], which is also seen in a toilet scene depicted on a door jamb, belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period.[3] Probably the same thing was done in this period as well. The use of comb was not unknown to Indians, even at the time of the Mohenjo-daro civilisation, and a very fine ivory comb, rectangular in shape with teeth on both the sides, was found by Mackay at the western end of the long lane.[4]

---

1. VIII. 2.48 p.408 L.23.
2. Saundarananda IV. 16.
3. Agrawāla. V.S: Guide to the Lucknow Museum. No.5.278.
4. Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro, p.542.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(b) FACE DECORATION:- Cunningham noticed[1] certain designs, probably tatooed, on the face of female figures, as for example, the sun and the moon and several typos of flowers. An aṅkuśa or goad like mark is observed on the cheeks of a female bust figure, and the goddess Sirimā has a single star or flower on her left cheekbone. There are certain other figures which are more ornamented. These include: one with a small bird or triśūla above each breast, and another on the upper arm, an aṅkuśa or goad with two straight lines and a small flower on each cheekbone, besides two elaborate cheek ornaments. A third figure has the cheekbones decorated with the sun and the moon, and each cheek is covered with a dense mass of small ornaments. Cunningham contended, on the basis of these marks, that the Bhārhut culture should be associated with, ~~the~~ Kols, ~~an aborginal tribe~~ an aboriginal tribe called. This is rather a far-fetched explanation. The Bhārhut culture is unconnected with that region and, secondly, it furnishes evidence of an advanced social organism. Now, as regards tatooing, it is known in Northern India, and there was a time when tatooing of a star on the chin was encouraged, even amongst high class ladies. In these figures, facial decorations were only of a temporary character, associated with the paint on the face. ~~Even at present, Indian actors,~~ put on stars on their cheeks after make up during festival gatherings, ~~after~~

---

1. ~~Ref~~ Op.cit. p.39

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~painting~~ ~~their faces~~, ~~affix stars on their cheeks~~.

MARRIAGE and POSITION OF WOMEN:- A lawfully wedded wife is called bhāryā in the Mahābhāṣya (pāṇigṛhītābhāryā)[1], but another term ūḍhā[2] is also ~~denoted the same sense~~ mentioned as a synonymous. In another reference the former term is used for a kṣatriyā married lady (bhāryā nāma kṣatriyā)[3]. but the appellation is too common, and its use cannot be restricted to denote ladies of any particular caste. Sometimes co-wives were also addressed as bhāryās (kati bhavato bhāryā iti)[4], which may suggest polygamy, but it was practised only under exceptional circumstances in Indian society. The girls occasionally ~~chose their partners which was quite common~~ made their own choice in matrimonial matters - a thing quite popular in the Regal class; but in this particular reference[5], it was a Brāhmaṇī girl (kharur iyam Brāhmaṇī). This may have been an exceptional case because, generally, marriages were arranged by parents who took into consideration the gotra and family of the other party. Sagotra marriage was not permissible, and one finds references to marital alliances between different gotras: the Ātri with Bhāradvāja, (atribharadvājikā), Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa (vasiṣṭhakaśyapikā), Bhṛgu and Aṅgirasa (Bhṛgvaṅgirasikā), Garga and Bhārgava (Gargabhārgavikā)[6] and Kutsa and Kuśika (Kutsakuśikā).

---

1. IV. 1.52 p.22, L.17.
2. I. 1.1 p.42, L.16.
3. III. 1.112 p.85, L.12.
4. II. 2.25 p.427, L.10.
5. IV. 1.44 p.217, L.10.
6. II. 4.62 p.492, L.8 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Despite the care taken by the parents to preserve purity through proper marriages, there were occasional lapses, and the Bhāṣyakāra refers to ladies ~~fast women were equally notable~~ who were not attached to any particular paramour, but were friendly with many (naṭānāṁ striyo raṅgaṁ gatā yo yah pṛcchati kasya yūyaṁ kasya yūyam iti taṁ taṁ tava tava ity ahuḥ.)[1] Patañjali has also referred to pregnant virgins (udariṇīkanyā)[2], and her off-spring was called kāṇīna.[3]

After marriage the parties had certain conjugal rights and obligations towards each other. The relations between the husband and the wife were like the twisting of the rope (pāṇi-sargyā rajjuḥ)[4], and the wife clung to her lord in that spirit. Association with a woman during her periods was tabooed, and it was supposed that a woman drinking with one, who was in courses, got herself in menstrua (yā khar veṇa pibati tasyai kharvastisro rātrīḥ-tasyā iti prāpte)[5]. The Mahābhārata and the Manusmṛti have refrained a lady in courses, even from looking at deities.[6] A pregnant lady (garbhībhāryā)[7], and one having delivered the child (prasūtabhāryā)[8] or sūtikā needed

---

1. VI. 1.2 p.7, L.6.
2. V. 2.94 p.393, L.19.
3. IV. 1.116 p.258, L.2.
4. III. 1.124 p.88, L.7.
5. II. 3.62 p.466, L.10.
6. XIII L.6067; Manu. XI. 171-179.
7. VI. 3.34 p.150 L.3.
8. VII. 3.45 p.326, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

special care. Though there is no reference to a sūtikāgṛha, the place of child delivery, one can hardly question the special arrangements which had to be made for that purpose. ~~Maid-servants (tārakā tārikādāsī), looked after the mistress and her child.~~ Ladies had freedom of movement, and there is no reference to the observance of Pardā. They enjoyed the respect of their family members. Sir John Marshall referred to the politeness of Indian manners, as he noticed precedence given to ladies over men in the Sāñchī gateway sculptures, especially in the scenes of worship.

PASTIMES and RECREATIONS:- The types and spheres of recreations varied, according to the sex and taste of the person, but there were some which were universally enjoyed. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned three terms which are more or less synonymous - samāja, samāśa and samavāya meaning festive gatherings. In these there were numerous items of entertainment; like, music, dancing and acting. The story of Kaṁsa and his slaughter, and the binding of Bali were shown on the stage (ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyakṣam kaṁsam ghātayanti pratyakṣam ca Balim bandhayanti iti). In these performances, it was not merely the show, but the speech of the narrator and dialogues,

---

1. Ibid., p.325, Ll.20-21.
2. Sāñchī - Vol.I. p.259.
3. I. 1.50 p.123, L.3.
4. III. 1.26 p.36, L.15.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

which were much enjoyed. (Yadārambhakā raṅgaṁ gacchanti naṭasya śroṣyāmo granthikasya śroṣyāma iti).[1] The actor used different types of head dresses (sarvakeśin naṭaḥ).[2] The producer, connected with the stage, was known as śobhanika[3] (śaubhika)[4], though the term, according to the Mahāvastu, denoted a magician. It is just possible that there was a display of magic on the stage, as a later work Divyāvadāna[5] actually mentions three kinds of magic performances (manojavā, stambhanī and śikhī).

Dancing was also practised, with the movements of steps in a rhythmical manner, and the hands expressing themes through gestures. The art is confined to ladies alone. Patañjali refers to female dancers (nartakikā)[6] and the Bhārhut sculptures show only ladies dancing. Five dancing scenes representing, probably, different forms are noticed.[7] These include a wife wanting to please her husband; the accomplished nymphs and courtezans dancing to the accompaniment of vocal and instrumental music; a Nāga maiden dancing on the lifted hood of a Nāga rāja maintaining rhythm with wavy motions of his body; and lastly dancing by a Nāga-rāja. The references, quoted above, suggest

---

1. I. 4.29 p.329, L.8.
2. II. 1.69 p.403 L.22.
3. ~~Ref.~~ ~~225~~.64.cit
4. Vol.III. p.442, L.7.
5. pp. 53,22; 637.27; 636.26.
6. VI. 3.42 p.158, L.16
7. Cf. Baruā - Bhārhut, figs. 95a,34,39,69; XXX.27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the practice of dramatic art in both ways - dancing and acting. Though Keith placed[1] Nāṭyaśāstra in the third century A.D., Pāṇini's reference to the Naṭasūtras[2] testify to the practice of some form of dancing and acting even in his time. Patañjali has referred in a similie to a peacock dancing towards his beloved (priyām mayūraḥ pratinarnṛtīti yadvat tvaṁ naravara narnṛtīṣi hṛṣṭaḥ)[3]. There is also a reference to troup dancers or actors (śailālino naṭāḥ)[4], who are noticed in an inscription[5] of the Kuṣāṇa period (śailālakas). It is not certain if, in this period, there were particular families of actors, or mobile companies visited different places.

Playing on vocal or instrumental music for pleasure was common. Certain gestures and postures in the Bhārhut sculptures[6] suggest the practice of vocal music. Patañjali has mentioned[7] some musical instruments; drum (mṛdaṅga), conch (śaṅkha), flute (tūṇava) and another instrument of the guitar type (vīṇā) having seven strings. One proficient in playing on mṛdaṅga was known as mārdaṅgika (mṛdaṅga vāda-naṁ śilpaṁ asya mārdaṅgikaḥ)[8], whom Pāṇini called maḍḍuka which is explained in the Kāśikā as - maḍḍukavādanaṁ śilpam asya

---

1. History of Sanskrit Literature, p.31, and ref.
2. IV. 3.110.
3. VII. 3.87 p.338, Ll.23-24.
4. IV. 2.66 p.286, L.18.
5. E.I. Vol.I. p.390, No.18.
6. Barua: Ref.cit. figs. 34,69,136.
7. II. 2.34 p.435, L.11.
8. IV. 4.55 p.332, L.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

māḍḍukaḥ)[1], and a tabor player jharjhara. Piṭhara[2] was a kind of ~~Paiṭharika used a~~ saucepan for making musical sounds. Most of these instruments can be seen in the Bhārhut sculptures, and some were known even in Vedic times. The Aitareya Āraṇyaka[3] enumerates the parts of a Vīṇā - head or neck (śiras), cavity (udara), sounding board (ambhaṇa), string (tantra) and plectrum (vādana). The scenes, noted for the display of these musical instruments, are quite a few in the Bhārhut sculptures. A harp of seven strings is being played in the bas-relief of the Indra śālaguhā, and the Audabhūta Jātaka scenes[4]; and a drum, two harps and a pair of cymbals can be seen in the famous dancing apasaras scene[5], while a stringed Vīṇā in the hand of Pañcaśikha, the famous harper of Indra, is most conspicuous in another relief[6]. The drums - a smaller one beaten by the fingers, and the bigger ones suspended from the neck and requiring drum sticks, are noticed in the heavenly dancing scenes[7]. An Indian pipe, probably, tūṇava is also traced with a pair of cymbals[8]. The two kinds of drums were known as mṛdaṅga and kiṅkiṇī[9].

Wrestling, walking and fire display were other items of

---

1. p.366. cit
2. Ref. op ~~241~~, L.6.
3. Vedic Index, Vol.II. p.316.
4. Cunningham: ~~Ref~~. cit. Pls. XXVIII.4; XXVI.4.
5. Ibid., Pl. XVI. fig.I and XV.1.
6. Barua. ~~Ref~~. cit. fig.56.
7. ~~Ref~~. ~~246~~. op. cit
8. Barua: ~~Ref~~.cit. figs.128; 8a and 6.
9. Saddh. Pund. II. 91; Chap. III. p.75.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

recreations. The wrestling ground (śālā) attracted wrestlers (malla)[1], but walking after meals (bhuktvā vrajati)[2] might have been a good exercise for old men. Display of fireworks (alāta cakram)[3] was, probably, enjoyed by children alone, but dice-playing was a favourite pastime for those who could afford to stake. Gamblers were known as akṣadyu, and those playing with stakes of gold were called hiraṇyadu.[4] Rogues or cheats in this game were common (akṣadhūrta).[5] Dice-playing has been a favourite pastime since the Vedic times,[6] and continued to attract patrons, despite its consequences, in all ages.[7] Patañjali has also referred to another game called śalākā in which an unlucky throw was known as śalākāpari[8] in contrast to akṣapari in a game of dice.

SOCIAL EVILS:- Lack of enterprise and a desire to grow rich with very little effort (iha hi sarve manuṣyā alpena yatnena mahato 'rthān ākaṅkṣanti)[9], generally prompted people to adopt underhand means. There were evils like beggary (dhanārtham bhikṣāmahe) or striving for women (dārārthaṁ ghaṭāmahe).[10] The beggar was not satisfied with the first

---

1. III. 4.47 p.181, L.18.
2. VIII. 1.7 p.370, L.1.
3. III. 2.124 p.125, L.17.
4. I. 4.2 p.310, L.4.
5. II. 1.40 p.390, L.26.
6. Cf. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.2 and Ref.
7. Cf. Vinaya III. 47; Miliñda paña p.114; Mahāvastu, Vol.III. p.169 etc.
8. II. 1.10 p.379, L.19.
9. II. 1.69 p.404, L.13.
10. II. 1.5 p.394, L.20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

alms, but was anxious to accumulate (bhikṣuko 'yaṁ dvitiyāṁ bhikṣāṁ āsādya pūrvāṁ na jahāti saṁcayāya pravartate)[1]. Cheats (pāraśava)[2] were anxious to secure money, but there were other social parasites like the abductor of women (strīkitava)[3], or slayer of young boys (kumāra ghātin)[4]. The seducer even went to the extent of causing abortion (bhraunahatyā)[5] with a view to wash off his sins. These evils were not confined to men alone; women were equally responsible, may be, indirectly in certain cases. The prostitutes had their group at a conspicuous place (gaṇikānāṁ samūho gāṇikyam)[6]. It is needless to shed light on this institution which has had a long and connected history.[7] Garrulous people (mukhara) were not encouraged in society.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF SOCIAL INTEREST:- There are certain other items of social interest which refer to social etiquette or conventions, as for example, one should not bow to the ladies in return (abhivāde strīvan mā)[8], or hands should be washed after touching fallen hair and nails (loma nakhaṁ spṛṣṭvā śaucaṁ kartavyam iti)[9], and the daily needs of the

---

1. II. 1.1 p.365, L.1.
2. V. 2.75 p.387, L.15.
3. II. 1.40 p.390, L.1.
4. III. 2.84 p.111, L.23.
5. VI. 4.174 p.234, L.11.
6. IV. 2.40 p.279, L.8.
7. V. 2.107 p.397, L.9.
8. I. 1.1 p.3, L.8.
9. I. 1.4 p.25, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

body should be attended first (puruṣo 'yam prātar utthāya yāny asya prati śarīraṁ kāryāṇi tāni tāvat karoti)[1]. These are minor matters which have hardly any value, except for a little interest.

We have noticed the social life in all its aspects. The division of society into the usual groups, and the creation of new castes, with the different names given to ~~the~~ off-springs from mixed marriages, ~~engaged our attention first~~ received top priority. Patañjali was aware of this social phenomenon which was not new to that period, and he was anxious to preserve the purity of Brāhmaṇas, who, despite their failings, continued to enjoy their position by birth in Hindu society. A few castes, especially the mixed ones, had some special functions attached to them. Family was a homogenous unit, consisting of blood relations, and the authority of the head was recognized. The standard of living can very well be judged by the data on food, dress, and ornaments. We have discussed these topics in detail. The household effects included domestic utensils, ~~used in the preparation of food~~ needed for food preparation, and furniture. We have also considered the problem of marriage, and the position of women, as noticed in the Mahābhāṣya. The ladies seem to have enjoyed considerable freedom, as ~~seen~~ noticed in the sculptures. Pastimes and recreations were many and universally enjoyed, like, theatrical performances accompanied with dancing and music. Different kinds

---

1. I. 1.57 p.145, L.24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of musical instruments, mentioned by Patañjali, are also found in sculptures. The indoor recreations included the game of dice which was probably meant for old and rich people, who had time and money to spend in stakes. Social evils in a progressive society were also known. The evidence, ~~taken~~ on the whole, ~~consideration~~, suggests an advanced social organism, with full opportunities for relaxation and entertainments, and, despite some social evils, the people, in general, were religious in outlook.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER V.

ECONOMIC LIFE.

The material furnished by the Mahābhāṣya on this topic is equally exhaustive and suggests a planned economy. As it was natural for people living in prosperity to aspire after the greater satisfaction of their needs, it was, all the more necessary to have some sort of planning. Unfortunately, there is no reference to guilds or union of persons having identical interests, but Patañjali has mentioned a good many economic professions. It is true that land was the primary source of livelihood, but people had interests in other commercial enterprises as well. Perilous journeys, both inland and overseas, were undertaken by traders - an indication of the wide sphere in which the economic activities of the people, spread in that period. Different types of coins served as the medium of exchange, and proper weights and measures ensured a fair return to the buyer. In this connection, it is equally interesting to describe the means of communication and transportation, with particular reference to the types of carriages, caravans and other vehicles mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.

PROFESSIONS:- The economic occupations can be classed under different groupings: those relating to the artisan class, workers in metal, masons and architects, domestic

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

servants, cooks and confectioners, wild professions, manual labourers and the low professions. These exclude those relating to land, and merchandise which have to be considered separately.

a) Artisan class. Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to five types of artisans[1] in a village, popularly known as Pañcakārukī, who, according to Uddyota, were kulāla - potter, karmāra - an artificer or blacksmith, vardhakin - carpenter, nāpita - barber, and rajaka, known as washerman. They are also noticed separately in the Mahābhāṣya. The potter, whose profession dates back to the Vedic[2] times, made different kinds of pots out of a lump of mud (pindākṛtim upamṛdya[3] ghaṭikā kriyante[4] - anayor mṛtipinḍay or ghaṭaṁ kurvīti[5]. He was also known as kumbhakāra or Mahākumbhākāra with a bigger establishment. ~~The~~ Pots were available in his house called kumbhakārakulam (ghaṭena kāryaṁ kariṣyan kumbhakārakulaṁ gatvā)[6], ~~The~~ karmāra, ~~a mechanic~~ was a mechanic - though the term sometimes suggested a blacksmith - ~~though the word is sometimes taken in the sense of a blacksmith~~, ~~had also~~ with ~~[illegible]~~ an old standing.[7] Patañjali ~~seems to~~ distinguishes[8] the two, and he ~~has~~ mentioned ayaskāra and lohakāra[9] separately.

---

1. I. 1.48 p.118, L.4.
2. ~~Cf~~. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.171 and Ref.
3. I. 1.1 p.7, L.13.
4. VI. 1.84 p.57, L.2.
5. III. 1.92 p.75, Ll.13,22.
6. I. 1.1 p.7, L.28.
7. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.140 and refs.
8. VI. 3.116 p.172, L.11.
9. IV. 1.158,p.264, 1.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

They are classed as śilpin who received daily wages, unlike the dāsakarmakāra - working on food and clothing only (bhaktam celam ca).[1] The carpenter is specified by the term vardhakin different from takṣan.[2] His work takṣakarman is mentioned by Patañjali.[3] This profession also dates back to the Vedic period. The kauṭatakṣa[4] of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, unlike the vardhakin, worked at home on his own account and not for a village or corporation. His position ~~has~~ is been explained in the Kāśikā[5] (svatantraḥ karmajīvī-na kasyacit pratibaddha ity arthaḥ. Nāpita, the village barber, and rajaka, the washerman, were ~~important~~ indispensable in the economic life of the village. It is probable that the latter was also dyeing clothes (rañjayati vastrāṇi).[6]

b) Workers in metal. These included goldsmiths, popularly known as suvarṇakāra,[7] who could make different kinds of ornaments out of a lump of gold (suvarṇam kayācid ākṛtyā yuktam pindo bhavati).[8] This profession seems to be in a flourishing condition in that period, as we find profuse use of ornaments in sculptures. The blacksmith, known as lohakāra, or ayaskāra, ~~though~~ is mentioned separately by Patañjali, ~~x~~ He was engaged in making things of domestic use, like needles used for sewing clothes

---

1. III. 1.26 p.36, L.4.
2. II. 1.1 p.364, L.16.
3. ~~Ref.~~ Vedic Index ~~I~~, p.297 and refs.
4. V. 4.95.
5. p.476.
6. VI. 2.24 p.194, L.21.
7. I. 3.27 p.281, L.19.
8. I. 1.1 p.7, L.14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(tīkṣṇayā sūcyā sīvyan); and arms (tīkṣṇenā paraśunā vṛścan).[1] There is no reference to silversmith or rajatakāra and coppersmith (tāmra-kuṭṭa) in the Mahābhāṣya, but their existence in the economic life can, hardly, be ~~denied~~ questioned.

c) Masons and Architects. To this ~~profession~~ group belonged the nagarakāra[2] or the city architect who probably supervised the construction of buildings, or actually took part in laying bricks, as one finds in the Jetavana monastery scene in Bhārhut sculptures,[3] where the foundation is filled with golden pieces. Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to kūpa-khānaka, or well digger, bestrewed with dust in the process of digging and removing earth (kūpakhānakaḥ kūpam khanan yady api mṛdā pāṁsubhiś ca avakīrṇo bhavati).[4] ~~The manual labourer, known as bāhukara, carried load or mud on his hands.~~ These were engaged generally by rich people

d) Domestic servants. ~~These, employed mostly by well-to-do persons, were both male and female~~, and included dāsakarmakara who was engaged on food and clothing (dāsakarma-kara nāmaite 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante bhaktaṁ celaṁ ca lapsyāmahe).[5] Kiṁkarā[6] was a female servant, probably required for household work. Some others were needed for domestic

---

1. II. 1.2 p.375, L.20.
2. I. 1.39 p.97, L.8.
3. Cunningham: Bhārhut, Pl.XXVIII.
4. I. 1.1 p.11, L.7.
5. ~~III. 2.1 p.121, L.11.~~ III. 1.26 p.36, L.3.
6. III. 2.21 p.101, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

as for example,

purposes, ~~were~~ dvārapāla[1] - porter, chattradhāra[2] - canopy-holder, bhāravāha[3] - a carrier or porter, ghaṭagraha - the water bearer or carrier, and bhrāṣṭram-indha - the frier or cook, who sometimes kept his own shop, and provided fried things.

e) Cooks and confectioners. These included the frier, working in his independent capacity and selling fried barley (bharūjā)[4] or grain. The confectioners sold articles of daily consumption with reference to drinks and cakes. The māthitika[5] - selling whey (mathitam paṇyam asya māthitika), and āpūpika[6] - dealing in baked cakes or pastries called śaṣkulī, and maudakika[7] in sweets could be particularised in this group. These professions were not identical. According to the Mahāvastu,[8] the sweet-meat dealers (modakārakāḥ) and curd makers (dadhikāḥ) had separate guilds (śreṇi). Certain other professions, connected with food, were those of grinders of food grain (saktukāra), and winnowers of grain (taṇḍulika).[9] The former is only indirectly referred to in the Mahābhāṣya,[10] but

---

1. III. 2.1 p.94, Ll.8.10.
2. III. 2.9 p.99, L.15.
3. VII. 3.70 p.168, L.4.
4. I. 1.47 p.115, L.10.
5. VI. 3.35 p.155, L.23.
6. IV. 1.85 p.237, L.13.
7. IV. 2.39 p.279, L.7.
8. Vol.III, p.442.
9. V. 2.115 p.398, L.8.
10. III. 3.126 p.156, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the profession was very important and had a ~~separate~~ guild of its own in later times.[1]

f) Wild professions. Though not actually wild in nature, this group included professions like those of fishermen (niṣāda),[2] also called kaivarta or ferrymen (niṣādo mārgavaṁ sūte dāsaṁ naukarmajī-vinaṁ);[3] fowlers (śākunika)[4] ~~who carried along bamboo for catching birds (mahato vaṁśastambāl laṭvā anukṛṣyate)~~[4] and certain others - śākulika, mātsyika, mainika and śāpharika[5] - all meaning fishermen. The mainika was so-called, because he was engaged in catching fishes (mīnān hanti mainikaḥ).[6] These professions are noticed in earlier and later literature.[7]

g) Low professions. ~~Amongst the~~ The low professions, ~~may be mentioned~~ included those of the mat maker who fastened together through string, wooden pegs and straw (saṁnaddhaṁ rajjukīlaka pūlapāṇim);[8] weaver (tantuvāya) who could make cloth from threads (asya sūtrasya śātakaṁ vayeti);[9] and hair weaver (vālavāya).[10] Another term sāmmātra,[11] meaning a measurer's

---

1. ~~Cf. Ref. 34;~~ and E.I. Vol.XXI. p.55.
2. V. 4.30 p.435, L.8.
3. Manu. X. 34.
4. I. 1.2 p.21, L.27.
5. I. 1.68 p.177, L.15.
6. Nikāyas - Sam.II. 256; Ang.III. 303 etc.
7. Mahāvastu, Vol.II. p.241; Milindapañha, p.311.
8. III. 1.7 p.14, L.20.
9. I. 1.45 p.112, L.10.
10. IV. 3.84 p.313, L.2.
11. IV. 1.115 p.257, L.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

son appears to be of an administrative ~~character~~ nature, having nothing to do, ~~rather than referring to~~ with any an economic profession.

It is difficult to make a cut and dried classification of the economic professions. There were ~~a~~ many more than are actually mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. One can hardly deny that some of these had their guilds or corporate organisations which existed in earlier times and are also traced in later literature.[1]

AGRICULTURE and HUSBANDRY: Agricultural process has hardly undergone any change, despite political turmoils. The data, furnished by the Mahābhāṣya, ~~may~~ might not suggest ~~anything~~ any new on this topic innovations, but some interesting details are worth mentioning; like, different types of land, method of sowing, agricultural implements, seeds and crops, grain storage and other miscellaneous items. Husbandry ~~formed a different, though an allied profession.~~ is allied to agriculture and may be considered here.

a) Agricultural holdings. The arable land was called kṣetra,[2] an old Vedic term pointing to the existence of individual fields, carefully measured off, and fit for cultivation.[3] Another word, mentioned by Patañjali is kedāra,[4] noticed earlier in the Aṣṭādhyāyī,[5] which was a field under water, as suggested by Manu.[6] The Sūtra Kāra distinguishes barren land (ūṣara)

---

1. Cf. Jat.VI. 22,427; Vin.IV.226; Mahāvastu, Vol.III. p.442 etc.
2. II. 3.19 p.453, L.1
3. R.V. X.33,6; i.1105; i.100,18 etc.
4. III. 1.87 p.67, L.19.
5. IV. 2.42.
6. IX. 38.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from pasture land (gocara)[1] but Patañjali has mentioned only the latter one. The area brought under cultivation was known as halyā or sītya.[2] The ordinary cultivator or agriculturist was called lāṅgalagraha,[3] and one particularly interested in a good field was named sukṣetriya.[4] The Mahābhāṣya also mentions the employment of agricultural labour, which enabled the cultivator to relax himself, and do only supervision work. (ekānte tūṣṇīm āsīna ucyate pañcabhir halaih krsati iti).[5]

b) Preparations and methods of sowing. Before the actual sowing of the seed, the field was properly ploughed. This was done through bulls, also used in carts (gotaro 'yaṁ yah śakaṭam vahati sīraṁ ca).[6] The plough was called sīra. The stumps in the ground were weeded out by a hoe, known as stambaghna.[7] It was necessary to remove the weeds (tṛṇa), thorns and stones, before the actual ploughing of the land. The required number of ploughs depended on the fertility of the land, and its dimensions; the maximum, noticed in the Mahābhāṣya, is five (pañchbhir halaih). After the ploughing of the land, the next stage was the sowing of the seeds, which,

---

1. III. 3.119.
2. 1.1.72 p.186, L.12.
3. III. 2.9 p.99, L.13.
4. VII. 1.39 p.256, L.24.
5. III. 1.26 p.33, L.22
6. V. 3.35 p.413, L.17.
7. III. 3.83 p.151, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

naturally, varied according to crops and seasons. Pāṇini ~~has~~ referred to different types of fields according to crops, as for example, a barley field was called yavyam (yavānām bhavanam kṣetram yavyam), that of beans (māṣyam), and sesamum (tilyam)[1] Patañjali does not distinguish ~~mention~~ them. As regards the required quantity of seeds for sowing ~~needed~~, the Kāśikā ~~has~~ referred to prāsthikam, drauṇikam and khārīkam[2] fields, that is, those requiring one prastha, droṇa or khārī weight of seed; but according to Patañjali there were fields requiring a hundred khārī (khāraśatika) or a thousand worth of seeds (khārasahastrika).[3] Sesamum (tila) and beans (māṣa) were mixed together when in the process of sowing ~~was done~~ (tilaiḥ saha māṣān vapati iti).[4] It was also customary to sow seeds on an auspicious day (āśvayujī Paurṇamāsī),[5] though ~~it~~ this fact is not mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.

After the sowing of the seeds, periodical supply of water was required for the fields. This was done through canals (śālyartham kulyāḥ praṇīyante),[6] as it was not unusual to expect drought in that village (vigatāḥ secakā asmād grāmād visecako grāmaḥ).[7] The crop was expected to be good, if there was adequate rainfall (devaśced vṛṣṭo niṣpannāḥ śālayaḥ).[8]

---

1. V. 2.3-4, Kāśikā, p.405.
2. V. 1.45 p.389.
3. V. 1.58 p.353, L.23.
4. II. 3.19 p.452, L.23.
5. IV. 3.45, Kāśikā p.333.
6. I. 1.23 p.82, L.5.
7. I. 4.60 p.342, L.12.
8. III. 3.133 p.159, L.23.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

RIPENING and REAPING:- Some crops ripened early, but others took time. Beans ripened quickly (pacelimā māṣāḥ)[1], but another type took sixty days (mudgā api saṣṭirātreṇa pacyante)[2]. The standing crop also needed protection from animals, as well as from robbers. Danger was apprehended for the barley crop from deer (na ca mṛgāḥ santīti yavā nopyante)[3] and so, there was the need for an observer (cāvaka)[4]. A shadow figure, made of straw (cañcābhirūpaḥ)[5], was placed in the field to frighten crows and birds, causing destruction to crops. Other dangers were from mole (ākhu), locust (śalabha) and hawk (śyena)[6]. When the crop was ready, reaping or cutting (lavaṇa) with a sickle (dātra)[7] was the next step. The reaper was called lāvaka[8], probably an agricultural labourer, employed on terms which are not mentioned, but, as at present, about 1/16 of the produce was his share. The over-ripened grain, requiring immediate attention, is alluded to in the Pāṇinian rule III.1.125, by the word lavya[9]. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned avaśyalāvyam and avaśyapāvyam probably, in a different sense. Reaping and mowing seem to be connected. After the cutting of the standing crop, the produce was stored on the thrashing

---

1. III. 1.96 p.81, L.17.
2. V. 1.90 p.360, L.3.
3. I. 1.39 p.100, L.1.
4. I. 1.3 p.46, L.12.
5. I. 2.52 p.229, L.5.
6. III. 2.4 p.98, L.3.
7. II. 1.32 p.386, L.7.
8. I. 1.3 p.46, L.12.
9. III. 1.125 p.88, L.19.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

floor (khala)[1] for being mowed, which was followed by another process called niṣpāva.[2] A winnowing fan (śūrpa)[3] was used by the winnower (taṇḍulika) who ~~may~~ might have been an agricultural labourer, employed for the purpose of separating the grain from the chaff. ~~The~~ Farmers kept their thrashing floors ~~of different farmers~~ ~~were~~ close by, in mutual interest.

STORING:- The grain was separated from the chaff, and ~~was~~ stored in a granary, called koṣṭha or kuśūla.[4] Both Pāṇini and Patañjali ~~have~~ mentioned these agricultural operations with little difference in expression. The latter, in his comment on the tiṣṭhadgvādi sūtra, ~~has~~ referred to khaleyavaṁ khalebusaṁ lūnayavaṁ lūyamānayavaṁ pūtayavam pūyamānayavam.[5] In sequence of time, during the performance of these operations, lūnayavam should come first, and the compound indicates the time when barley ~~had been~~ was reaped, or was in the process of being reaped (lūyamānayavam). The second compound, mentioned as first, suggests the storing of the barley crop, or barley straw (khalebusam) on the thrashing floor; and lastly the separation of the corn from the straw already done, or in the process of being done (pūtayavam - pūyamāna yavam).

Grain was stored in jars, and a person, so doing for a specific period, was called kumbhīdhānya.[6] A good crop was

---

1. II. 1.17 p.381. L.6.
2. I. 3.10 p.269, L.12.
3. III. 3.20 p.146, L.10.
4. I. 2.45 p.220, L.1.
5. II. 1.17 p.381, Ll.6-7.
6. I. 3.7 p.264, L.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

an indication of the prosperous time ahead which could be found out from a single grain of rice (eko vrīhiḥ sampannaḥ subhikṣaṁ karoti)[1]. Certain crops were associated with definite parts of the country, as for example, barley was particularly grown in the lands of Uśīnara and Madra (Uśīnaravan-madreṣu yavāḥ)[2], and Magadha was famous for śāli or rice (tān eva śālin bhuñjāmahe ye magadheṣu)[3].

OTHER CROPS:- Besides barley, rice, pulses, and sesamum which may be called kṛṣṭapacya - ripening in arable land, there were other crops depending exclusively on nature without human enterprise (akṛṣṭapacya)[4]. The latter class, probably, included nīvāra - wild rice which is not mentioned by Patañjali, but is referred to by Aśvaghoṣa[5], as the only food for ascetics. Sugar cane (ikṣu)[6], cotton (kārpāsa)[7], linseed (umā), and hemp (bhaṅgā)[8] were also grown.

HUSBANDRY:- This economic undertaking is associated with land. The person, rearing or in charge of cattle, was known as gopā or gopāla in the Vedic period[9]. These terms indicate that only cows were reared for milking purpose. The Mahābhāṣya

---

1. I. 2.58 p.230, L.4.
2. I. 1.57 p.147, L.15.
3. I. 1.2 p.19, L.6.
4. III. 1.114 p.86, L.25.
5. Saundarananda I.10.
6. V. 2.29 p.376, L.17.
7. V. 1.2 p.337, L.4.
8. V. 4.29 p.376, L1.9,12.
9. Cf. Vedic Index, p.232.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

provides details regarding different kinds of cows, the method of controlling them when they were out for grazing, and their śālās[1] or stables. Gopālaka, and govallava[2], probably synonymous, are mentioned by Patañjali. One possessing brindled cows was known as citragu, and the owner of mottled ones was called śabalagu.[3] Paśupālikā or gopālikā[4] are the two words denoting the rearing of cattle or cows. The keeper controlled them through a staff (goūtham eka daṇḍa-praghaṭṭitaṁ sarvaṁ samaṁ ghoṣaṁ gacchati)[5]. There are also references to cow stable (gogoṣṭhaṁ - gavāṁ sthānam), and sheep stable (avigoṣṭham)[6]. A flock of sheep was known as avikaṭa, and the owner was required to pay tribute or tax consisting of a ram to the King who was called avikaṭorana.[7] Gomaṇḍala[8] is used to denote the herd of cows, and goprapadanīyam[9] indicated the time of their returning home. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned gopā as a special jāti[10] or class. There is no reference to the time of milking cows, nor to the duties of the gopa who was expected to look after the scattered cows, and to prevent them

---

1. I. 1.23 p.80, L.14.
2. VI. 2.52 p.131, L.12.
3. II. 1.51 p.394, L.3.
4. IV. 1.78 p.217, L.12.
5. IV. 2.70 p.287, L.10.
6. V. 2.29 p.376, Ll.14,21.
7. VI. 3.10 p.144, L.23.
8. I. 2.58 p.230, L.18.
9. V. 1.111 p.362, L.15.
10. III. 1.31 p.41, L.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from trespassing upon cornfields, which have been noted by Aśvaghoṣa.[1]

MERCHANDISE:- This term is comprehensive, and we may consider here the data relating to the sale of goods, trade stipulations, if any, vendible commodities, earnest money and consideration, shops and markets, import and export of trade, sale of prohibited articles, and medium of exchange and barter. The general rule of conduct in business transactions, is suggested by the word vyavahāra[2] which signified a contract, but it is better to take its usuage in a general sense. Paṇya[3] is the proper word ~~which~~ for ~~denoted~~ a vendible article. The market place was called āpaṇa,[4] and the dealer was known as ā-paṇika.[5] Generally the merchants were named after the things in which they dealt, as for instance, a perfume seller was called sugandhāpaṇika. Pāṇini mentioned traders, deriving their professional designations from ~~the~~ places visited by them (gantavyapaṇyaṁ vāṇije).[6] Another word, probably ~~denoting~~ suggesting a market place, is samvāha,[7] but since it is associated with grāma, ghoṣa and nagara, one is not very sure about its correct meaning. ~~The~~ Business men had shops, facing the main street, as appears from an indirect reference (athā yadā anena rathyāyām

1. Saundarananda XIV.41; IX.42; XVI.50.
2. V. 3.67 p.420, L.13.
3. V. 3.83 p.425, L.18.
4. IV. 2.104 p.295, L.16.
5. V. 4.135 p.443, L.12.
6. VI. 2.13.
7. II. 4.10 p.475, L.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tandulodakam dṛṣṭam)[1]. There was a closer link between the village and the town for commercial purposes (loke 'dhikṛto 'sau grāme 'dhikṛtaḥ[2] 'sau nagara iti ucyate yo yatra vyāpāram gacchati).

TRADE STIPULATIONS:- The display of an article implied that it was vendible (krayya)[3]. The standard of quality was also ensured, as for example, a woollen blanket conformed to the set standard (paṇyakambala)[4]. ~~The~~ Negotiations, ~~needed in a transaction~~ were necessary, between the vendor and the vendee ~~were~~ called paṇitavyaḥ[5]; and the price, fixed in terms of coins or other things, actually fluctuated with the demand and supply, as well as with the quality of the thing. The Mahābhāsya mentions the sale of rice (dhānya) for two droṇas (dvidroṇena dhānyam krīṇāti), cattle for five droṇas (pañcakena paśūn krīṇāti), and rice again for two gold pieces (dvidroṇena hiraṇyena dhānyam krīṇāti)[6]. Things were also sold by weight, as suggested by the word dviśūrpam, that is, containing two sūrpas, or winnowing baskets with reference to purchases (dvābhyām śūrpābhyām krītam dviśūrpam)[7]. A transaction was completed (satyāpayati)[8], with the payment of the earnest money (satyaṁkāra)[9] to the seller.

---

1. III. 2.115 p.120, L.13.
2. I. 3.11 p.271, L.23.
3. VI. 1.82 p.55, L.5.
4. VI. 2.42 p.126, L.14.
5. Ibid., L.12.
6. II. 2.18 p.452, L.5 f.
7. V. 1.20 p.346, L.4.
8. III. 1.25 p.30, L.22.
9. VI. 3.70 p.167, L.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There is no reference to the inspection of goods in the Mahābhāṣya[1], as we notice in a later work. Probably it was a formal affair, preceding the opening of negotiations which were arranged through a middle man, ~~a go between~~. His share is hinted by the word vasna[2], used in Vedic literature in the sense of 'price paid for anything', or 'its value', or 'the thing as an object of purchase', 'ware'. Its implication is considered by Paṇini in three Sūtras which suggest 'value' or 'sale price realised', as its meaning. In the first Sūtra 'vasnakrayavikrayāṭṭhan'[3], vasnika is distinguished from krayika or vikrayika; the former, according to the Kāśikā[4], depended on vasna for his living (vasanena jīvati), ~~which means, 'hire' or 'wages'~~. In another Sūtra, sosyāṁśavasnabhṛtayah[5], the share of the vasnika, again, according to the Kāśikā[6], determined as designation, as for instance, Pañcaka, Saptaka and Sāhasra. He is also differentiated from dravyaka in the Sūtra Vasnadravyābhyāṁ ṭhankanau[7]. He carried or conveyed the vasna (vasnaṁ harati vahati vā vasnikaḥ. Now, according to Patañjali, the word vasna denoted 'wages' or 'dues' (iha yaḥ śatam arhati śataṁ tasya vasno bhavati)[8]. Considering the evidence, fur-

---

1. Miliñdapañha, p.194, L.18.
2. Cf. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.278 and Ref.
3. IV. 4.13.
4. p.359.
5. V. 1.56.
6. p.391
7. V. 1.51.
8. V. 1.19 p.~~344, L.14~~.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nished by the Sūtra Kāra with the Kāśikā commentary, and Patañjali, it appears that vasnika was, probably, a broker, or an agent, who brought about the deal between the vendor and the vendee; and when the sale price was realised, he was entitled to his share which varied according to the proceeds of the sale. The presence of the third party in a transaction ensured security to the seller for his money, and to the buyer for the quality of goods purchased.

ARTICLES OF TRADE:- Vendible articles were many ~~The articles offered for sale, and~~ including the imported ones, ~~were many~~. Besides his own produce, the vendor also displayed for sale other things connected with his trade. It would mean a long list to enumerate them, but the important ones excluding the food products may be mentioned here, as for instance, fabrics of silk (kauśeya)[1], wool (ūrṇa)[2], flax (umā)[3], hemp (bhaṅgā)[4], cotton (kārpāsa)[5], cloth (vastra)[6], blankets of a set standard (paṇya kambala)[7], white woollen garment (pāṇḍu kambala)[8], deer skin (ajina)[9], dye stuff (rāga), and sandals and shoes (aupānahyaṁ dāru - aupānahyaṁ carma)[10]. Other vendible things, needed for

---

1. IV. 3.42 p.309, L.3.
2. V. 1.3 p.338, L.19.
3. V. 2.4 p.372, L.20.
4. IV. 1.55 p.224, L.13.
5. I. 1.11 p.67, L.22.
6. I. 2.42 p.126, L.18
7. Ibid., L.5.
8. VI. 2.106, p.133, L.8.
9. VI. 3.99 p.173, L.13.
10. V. 1.2 p.337, Ll.6,7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

professional or domestic use were: iron chains for binding (śṛṅkhalā)[1], agricultural implements, like, sickle (dātra)[2] and pottery utensils for storing ghee which were available at the house of the potter.[3] Intoxicating drinks were sold in bars(śundā)[4], and articles of perfumery (gandha)[5] and garland (mālā)[6] were available either in shops or on streets from vendors. Weights (māna) and measures (parimāṇa)[7], vehicles of communication like cart (śakaṭa), chariot (ratha), and boat (nau)[8] were also vendible. Even gold images did not escape the greed of Mauryas, who were anxious to get money out of them, despite their sacred character, as noticed in Patañjali's comment on the Sūtra Jīvīkārthe cāpaṇye (mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir archā prakalpitāḥ)[9]. Such a thing ~~may have~~ might have been done under exceptional circumstances, but one can hardly deny that ~~such~~ payments must have been made for gold images. ~~were made on payment~~. Even now, idols can be purchased, but once they are set up in a temple, their sacred character cannot be violated, and a Brāhmaṇa would prefer to starve rather than part with his idol. Patañjali has not commented on the Sūtra Gantavyapaṇyaṁ vāṇije (VI.2.13) which

---

1. V. 2.79 p.388, L.11.
2. II. 1.32 p.386, L.6.
3. I. 1.1 p.7, L.28.
4. V. 3.88 p.427, L.3.
5. V. 4.135 p.443, L.11.
6. I. 1.9 p.63, L.10.
7. V. 1.19 p.344, Ll.5,7 etc.
8. IV. 1.78 p.232, L.23.
9. V. 3.99 p.429, L.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is illustrated in the Kāśikā by merchants dealing in cows and bulls (govānijāh) and horses (aśva vānijāh).[1] Ornaments and musical instruments were probably made to order, and some ~~may have~~ were probably displayed in the shop windows. The sale of certain articles was prohibited, as for example, beef could not be sold, nor was the sale of sesamum allowed, but that of mustard oil was permitted (yathā tarhi tailam na vikretavyam māmsam na vikretavyam iti vy-apavṛktaś ca na vikrīyate 'vy-apavṛktam ca gāvaś ca sarṣapāś ca vikrīyante).[2]

EXCHANGE AND BARTER:- An organized planning in the economic field could only be possible through a medium of exchange, so that people could have complete satisfaction in their requirements. In certain cases barter was also possible, as in the rural economy, where one product was exchanged for another.[3] The thing given in exchange was called nimāna, and one received for it, nimeya.[4] Commenting on the Sūtra - Samkhyāyā gunasya nimāne māyat (V.2.47) [which refers to the affixing of māyat to numerically standing for the value of some part of a thing denoting another thing], Patañjali has referred to the guiding principle in all barter transactions, namely, the invariable nature of the ratio. The valuation was determined on the basis of one portion of nimeya (the thing to be bought) with several portions of nimāna (the thing to be given in exchange). It was inapplicable in the case of dvau yavānām

---

1. p.541.
2. I. 1.4 p.25, Ll.9-10.
3. V. 2.47 p.381, L.19.
4. Ibid., p.382, L.13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

traya udaśvit iti,[1] nor could the ratio apply to fractions, but only to an integral number, as for example, its inapplicability in the illustration - dvau bhāgau yavānām adhyardha udaśvitah.[2] The comparative value of the thing has to be taken into consideration for the application of the mayat affix, like, dvimayā yavā udaśvitah[3] which suggests that the exchange value of udaśvita was twice as much as that of a yava.[4] the mayat affix also indicates time or fold, - as dvimaya, sometimes qualifying the nimāna and sometimes the nimeya.

Barter transactions at that time were not confined to ordinary things of human need, but the principle extended even to bigger transactions. Both Pāṇini and Patañjali, have referred to vasanārṇam and kambalārṇam[5] pointing to the loan for a cloth of standard size, or that for a blanket of standard quality. The transactions relating to purchase and sale of animals were also arranged through barter, as for instance, pañcabhir gobhih krītah pañcaguh.[6] One also finds a curious illustration of the purchase of a chariot for five krostris (pañcabhih krostrbhih krītaih rathaih pañcakrostrbhī rathair iti).[7] It is difficult to assess the value of a female jackal, unless

---

1. Ibid., L.2.
2. Cf. Kāśikā p.418.
3. Ibid.
4. V. 2.47 p.382, L.13.
5. VI. 1.89 p.69, L.19.
6. I. 2.44 p.216, L.14.
7. VII. 1.96 p.273, L.15.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

the word krostṛi meant something valuable to be given in barter for a chariot. There are also references to measures of capacity which, when used in barter, had affixes denoting quantity, as for example, dvi-śūrpa or tri-śūrpa.[1] The extension of this system to bigger transactions is noticed in illustrations, such as, five hundred boats bartered for five hundred rafts (pañcoḍupa śatāni tīrṇāni).[2] Patañjali has referred to three persons in a transaction - the person who gives, the other who takes, and the third who watches the transaction (tribhiḥ sākṣād dṛṣṭam bhavati yaś ca dadāti yasmai ca dīyate yaś ca upadraṣṭā).

COINAGE:- The comment on the Ārhīya section[3] refers to different types of coins. Most of these were in use in that period, and some could trace their origin to the Vedic times. The need for coins of different denominations and metals was to meet the economic pressure. Those mentioned in the Mahābhāsya include: Niṣka, Śatamāna, Suvarṇa, Śāṇa, Kārṣāpaṇa, with its lower denominations - ardha or half, Pāda - a quarter, Māṣa with still lower denominations - Ardhamāṣa, Kākiṇī and Ardhakākiṇī; and Rūpa which may have been a coin or a figure or symbol stamped on a coin. The value of niṣka, a gold coin with a long history,[4] was never uniform. It equalled a

---

1. V. 1.20 p.321, L.4.
2. ~~V. 1.59 p.356, L.22.~~
3. V. 2.91 p.389, L.14.
4. Ref. Siddhānta Kaumudī, Chapter XXXIII - for the collection of the Sūtras on 'Ārhiya' affixes.
5. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.345 and ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Dināra, of 32 small or 16 large rattis, or a kārṣa or suvarṇa of 16 māṣas, or a Þala of 4 or 5 suvarṇas, or a large Þala or Dināra, variously reckoned at 108 or 150 suvarṇas or 4 māṣas or 16 Drammas.[1] It was also a weight of silver of 4 suvarṇas. Patañjali has used the word naiṣika in the sense of deserving a niṣka, as for instance, one deserving a hundred was called śatikaḥ and a thousand sāhasraḥ.[2] The individual wealth was also reckoned in terms of this coin (na hi niṣkadhanaḥ śatāniṣkadhanena spardhate.[3] The quarter, known as Þādaniṣkā[4] is also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya.

The next coin śatamāna is noticed by Patañjali in his comment on the sūtra - vibhāṣā kārṣā paṇasahas rābhyām,[5] which refers to the optional elision of luk after the words kārṣāpaṇa and sahasra, and there suvarṇa and śatamāna are also added when they are preceded by adhyardha, or they are members of a Dvigu compound: like, adhyardhaśatamānam, dviśatamānam. The metal or value of this coin is not known, but according to Manu,[6] it was a denomination of silver (śatamānas tu rājataḥ). The position of Suvarṇa, mentioned in the same context, is equally doubtful. It was a coin, as well as a denomination of weight

---

1. Cf. Manu, VIII. 137; Cf. Monier Williams - Sanskrit-English Dictionary p.562, col.2.
2. V. 1.19 p.344, L.19.
3. V. 3.55 p.414; L.2.
4. VI. 3.56 p.163, L.9.
5. V. 1.29 p.349, Ll.7-9.
6. VIII. 137.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

equal to 80 guñjas or 146 grains, according to Kauṭilya;[1] and required an additional kākiṇī, (one fourth māṣa) metal, to be added to it, as against loss in manufacture. In the time of Manu, a suvarṇa was one-fourth of a niṣka (catuḥ suvarṇako nisko vijñeyas tu pramāṇataḥ.[2]

A coin of lower denomination in ratio to śatamāna was śāṇa[3] which, according to the evidence of the Mahābhārata, was 1/8 of the latter (astau śāṇāḥ śatamānam vahanti).[4] It appears that niṣka and suvarṇa were gold coins, while śatamāna and śāṇa were probably of silver, as suggested by Manu. The copper coins in circulation were of different denominations.

Kārṣāpaṇa was the most popular coin of different values. It was, probably, the standard money and its denominational value was implied in phrases like śatena krītam satyam śāṭaka-śatam iti[5] and aikādaśam śatasahasram iti.[6] According to Manu, it was synonymous with Þaṇa (kārṣāpaṇas tu vijñeyas tāmrikaḥ kārṣikaḥ paṇaḥ).[7] Its other name is Þrati or Þratika, meaning purchased of a kārṣāpaṇa (kārṣāpaṇikaḥ - kārṣāpaṇiki - Þratikaḥ - Þratiki).[8] The metal of this coin was not copper

---

1. Arthaśāstra p.90 (Shamaśāstrī ed.)
2. Ref. op. cit.
3. V. 1.35 p.350, Ll.7-8.
4. III. 10665.
5. V. 1.21 p.346, L.8.
6. V. 2.45 p.380, L.17.
7. VIII. 136.
8. V. 1.24 p.347, Ll.19-20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

only, as mentioned by Manu,[1] but it could also be of silver, or of a black metal (iron or lead).[2] Its value or weight differed according to the nature of the metal (if of gold 16 māsas; silver - 16 panas; and copper - 80 ratikas or 176 grains). The numismatics use this term to denote Punch-marked coins.[3] Its lower denominations were - ardha kārṣāpaṇa,[4] and pāda,[5] the quarter one which was distinct from pādaniṣka.[6] Kauṭilya[7] also mentioned a token coin, aṣṭabhāga[8] - 1/8 of a kārṣāpaṇa in value. Cunningham had suggested that the tail-end of the kārṣāpaṇa coins was limited to half and quarter size only.

Māṣa, as a parimāna or weight,[9] is distinguished from the type of pulse known by that name, and it is associated with akṣa and pāda, the two other words denoting measures. Kauṭilya has classed[10] it as a copper coin, being 1/16 of a kārṣāpaṇa in value, with its lower denominations - ardhamāṣa which is also noticed in the Jātakas.[11] There were still lower denominations like kākiṇī and ardhakākiṇī. The latter is not directly referred to in the Mahābhāṣya, but its use can be inferred from

---

1. Majj. Nikāya II. 163; Ang. Nikāya 1.250.
2. Dhammapada Commentary (P.T.S.) III. 254.
3. Monier Williams - ~~ref~~.cit. p.276, col.3.
4. V.1.25 p.347, L.18.
5. I. 3.72 p.293, L.5.
6. ~~Ref. 166~~. VI.3.56 P163&9
7. ~~Ref~~.cit. p.84.
8. Coins of Ancient India, p.46.
9. I. 2.45 p.220, L.2.
10. ~~Ref. 183~~. op cit. p84
11. III. 448.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the reference to adhyardhakākiṇīkam,[1] that is, one and a half kākiṇī. Rhys Davids suggested[2] that the monetary value of a kākāṇikā may be guessed at being 1/8 of a kahāpaṇa, as it occurs in a descending order where each succeeding coin marks half the value of the preceding one, that is, kahāpaṇa, addha, Pāda, Māsaka, kākaṇikā, followed by mudha 'for nothing'. It appears that these lower denominations were both coins and weights.

The finds of silver and copper punch-marked coins have testified to the use of these coins, and the correctness of their weight, as recorded in literature; but the total absence of gold coins is a strange phenomenon. These silver and copper coins are classified by ~~Professor~~ Allan,[3] and class 2 coins of his catalogue are ½ kārṣāpaṇa of an Indian standard - the usual weight varying between 25 and 26 grains; but those of class 3, presumably from a different part of India, are 2 - 3 grains higher than coins belonging to the preceding class. A single and double kārṣāpaṇa coins, belonging to class IV type are not generalized for want of adequate specimens. The quarter kārṣāpaṇas, known as Pādika, are of a heavier standard weighing 14.4 and 14.9 grains, a slightly above Cunningham's theoretical Pādika of 14.4 grains. He contended that the

---

1. V. 1.30 p.350, Ll.2,4.
2. Pāli Dictionary, part III. p.30.
3. Coins of Ancient India, p.clxi.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

greater majority of silver coins of Ancient India were full kārṣāpaṇas, halves and quarters being much rarer. Very small square coins (class 9), weighing from 2 - 3 grains are 1/16 kārṣāpaṇas or kṛṣṇalas. ~~Professor~~ Allan found it difficult to generalize on the basis of their weights, as they are not struck or cast so carefully, and secondly because of their depreciation in course of time; but attempt was made in this direction by Durgā Prasād.[1] According to his contention, kārṣāpaṇas weighed 80 rattis or 144 grains, ~~though~~ silver kārsāpanas, ~~of equal value~~ namely 32 rattis of weight, were also minted, and called raupyakārṣāpaṇa. He also noticed two varieties of copper kārṣāpaṇas which are rare; and ardhas, pādas, trimśakas, dvimāṣakas and māṣakas of copper and silver were in his own cabinet.

Viṁśatika and triṁsatika, mentioned by Patañjali,[2] can also be placed in this group. It is contended[3] that the two words refer to different types of coins - the former being of 100 ratis of copper, and 40 ratis of silver; and the latter weighing 60 ratis. The evidence from the Mahābhāṣya is cited to show that in times past, sixteen māṣas made one kārṣāpaṇa, and sixteen Palas (phalas) made one māṣasaṁvatyaḥ (purākalpa etad āsīt ṣoḍasamāṣāḥ kārṣāpaṇaṁ ṣoḍaśa palāś ca māṣa-saṁvatyaḥ).[4]

---

1. Cf. J.A.S.B. Vol.30, 1934 - Numismatic Supplement, No.XLV. p.5 f.
2. V. 1.24 p.347, L.10.
3. Cf. J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XI. pt.I. p.74 f.
4. I. 2.64 p.247, L.16.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This implication meant that a teacher was considering a paṇa of sixteen māṣas as absolute, and was probably acquainted with a kārṣāpaṇa of twenty māṣas in some locality. It was therefore suggested that the 16 māṣaka, as well as, the 20 māṣaka kārṣāpaṇas were in circulation at the same time. This suggestion cannot be accepted unless sufficient coins of these denominations are available to form a sound opinion on this matter.

Rūpa - the Sūtra Rūpādāhataprasaṁsayoryap[1], meaning the affix yap comes in the sense of a matup after the word rūpa when āhata - stamping, and praśaṁsā - praise, are denoted, possibly refers to another type of coin. At another place Patañjali, ~~in another reference~~, mentions rūpatarka examining a kārṣāpaṇa (paśyati rūpatarkaḥ kārṣāpaṇam)[2]. It seems that he was the same as rūpadarśaka of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra[3], but D.R. Bhandarkar, citing Mahāsopina Jātaka suggested[4] that the word indicated the coin which was the subject of examination, though its exact denomination is unknown. This word should be differentiated from rūpya, which, as an adjective, may mean any type of coin with a figure (rūpa) stamped on it. In fact, according to the Kāśikā, dīnāra, kedāra, and kārṣāpaṇa had symbols impressed on them by means of striking a punch, and

---

1. V. 2.120.
2. I. 4.52 p.337, L.12.
3. ~~Ref~~. cit. p.69.
4. Ancient Indian Numismatics, p.132.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

this process was called āhata (ahataṁ rūpam asya rūpyo rūpyaḥ kedāraḥ, rūpyaṁ kārṣāpaṇam).[1] It is doubtful, if the gold coins were stamped, because the Punch-marked coins are confined ~~only~~ alone to silver and copper, and this type of coin, according to ~~Professor~~[2] Allan, was the sole silver currency of a certain period. It may, however, be assumed that rūpa was another type of coin, the metal being unknown, while rūpya denoted the stamping of the punches on coins.

WEIGHTS and MEASURES:- In the Mahābhāṣya there are many references to different kinds of weights and measures, which were, probably, in use in that period. According to Patañjali, the weights never varied - one way or the other (droṇaḥ khāryādhakam iti naivādhike bhavanti na nyūne).[3] They were uniformly used, as for instance, oil and ghee could be weighed in khārī, as well as, droṇa (tailaṁ ghṛtaṁ iti khāryām api bhavanti droṇe 'pi).[4] The weights included: ādhaka, droṇa and khārī in ascending order, besides a few minor ones. The former was ¼ of a droṇa, equivalent to 16 kuḍavas or nearly 7 lbs - 10,ozs in weight. Droṇa was four times in weight to the ādhaka, but khārī was a measure of grain = 16 droṇas or about 3 bushels. Grain weighing one khārī was enough ~~to be~~ for being sown in a limited plot of land.

---

1. p.432.
2. Op Ref.cit. p.clx.
3. I. 1.72 p.184, L.17.
4. Ibid., 1.19.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Other weights mentioned are: pala[1], māṣa, kārṣāpaṇa[2], kuḍava[3], and śūrpa[4]. Their weights and relations to one another are mentioned in the Arthaśāstra[5], and in the Manu[6] and Yājñavalkya[7] Smṛtis. According to Manu, five kṛṣṇalas or raktikās made one māṣa (bean), and sixteen of those made one suvarṇa; four suvarṇas were equivalent to a pala or niṣka and 10 palas made a dharaṇa of gold. The above ratio applied to gold and copper only. For silver 2 kṛṣṇalas or raktikās = 1 māṣa; 16 māṣas = 1 dharaṇa or purāṇa and 10 dhāraṇas = 1 śata-māna (pala). A kārṣa of copper, was a kārṣāpaṇa or paṇa[8]. The weights have been analysed by several scholars, on the basis of these original sources. According to these sources a māṣa weighed about 17 grains, the silver kārṣāpaṇa was equivalent to 16 Paṇas or 1280 kowries, but the copper one equalled 80 raktikās or about 176 grains.

Kuḍava and śūrpa were other denominations of weight. The former was a measure of grain or of wood or of iron etc. equivalent to ¼ of a prastha. It is described as a measure of

---

1. I. 2.45 p.220, L.2.
2. I. 2.64 p.247, L.16.
3. V. 2.37 p.378, L.13.
4. ~~[VIII. 2.3 p.388, L.12.]~~ v. 1.20 p346 L4.
5. Chapter XIX.
6. VIII. 134 f.
7. i. 361 f.
8. Ref. Colebrooke: Indian Weights and Measures, Trans. A.S.B. 1801 p.95 f; L.D. Barnett: Antiquities of India, p.206 f; Prannath: Economic Condition of Ancient India, p.71 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

capacity also, containing 12 prakṛtis or handfuls in a vessel four fingers wide and as many deep.[1] This weight is noticed in the Mahābhārata,[2] as well as in Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Śūrpa was a measure of two droṇas - Patañjali has mentioned adhyardha - śūrpa[3] - which shows that there was room for a fractional weight also. Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to tailamātra and ghṛtmātra[4] which imply that there were certain pots for measuring ghee and oil, but their capacity is unknown.

Measurements. These refer to time and space, and include akṣa,[5] pāda,[6] aratni,[7] prādeśa, vitasti and diṣṭi.[8] The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and Manu Smṛti furnish detailed information on these as well.[9] Akṣa was equivalent to 104 aṅgulas, Pāda was 12 or 15 fingers in breadth or $\frac{1}{2}$ - $1/3$ or $2/7$ of a prakrama,[10] and it is noticed in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[11] also. Aratni was a cubit of the middle length from the elbow to the tip of the middle length. Prādeśa was a measure of 12 aṅgulas and it covered the span of the thumb

---

1. Monier-Williams: ~~Ref~~ Op.cit. p.239.
2. XIV. 2722.
3. i.1. 23 p.82, L.19.
4. I. 1.56 p.138, L.18
5. I. 2.45 p.220, L.2.
6. I. 1.14 p.25, L.5.
7. I. 4.84 p.346, L.23.
8. V. 2.37 p.378, L.13.
9. Chap. XX; I. 64.
10. VI. 1.172 p.107, L.13.
11. Cf. Vedic Index, Vol.I. p.516 and Ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and forefinger.[1] Vitasti was a particular measure of length, defined either as a long span between the external thumb and the little finger, or as the distance between the wrist and the tip of the fingers, said to be 12 aṅgulas, or about 9 inches. It was also a Vedic measure mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[2] and the Gṛhya Sūtra.

We have already referred to different types of weights as mentioned by Kauṭilya and Manu. They have mentioned different kinds of measurements and their proportions to one another. According to Kauṭilya,[3] 12 aṅgulas equalled 1 vitasti; 2 vitasti = 1 aratni; 192 aṅgulas = 1 daṇḍa, 10 daṇḍa = 1 rajju; and 2 rajju = 1 pariḍeśa. Patañjali has also referred to rajju[4] or rope, and yojana[5] which, according to Kauṭilya, equalled 4 krośas.

LABOUR:- It is another economic phenomenon which needs consideration. We have already referred to the agricultural labourer, who lived by his wages (Vrāta karmaṇā jīvati iti vrātīnaḥ).[6] The labour class consisted of persons, probably, of different castes without any fixed living (nānājātīyā aniyatavṛttaya utsedhajīvinaḥ saṁghāḥ vrātāḥ - teṣām karma-vrātam).[7] In another reference, Patañjali refers to a

---

1. Ibid., Vol.II. p.50.
2. Monier Williams: Ref.cit. p.962, col.3.
3. Ref.cit. p.106 f.
4. I. 1.44 p.110, L.4.
5. II. 3. 28 p.455, L.13.
6. V. 2.21 p.374, L.21.
7. Ibid., L.20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

labourer working on five, six or ten coins (pañca-kamāsikaḥ, ṣaṭkamāsikaḥ and daśamāsikaḥ)[1] probably kārṣāpaṇas a month. There is another reference to a servant working until the cow, promised as his wages, was given to him. He was known as āgavīnaḥ karmakaraḥ.[2] Sometimes the labourers worked in a team, and the physical incapacity of one did not stand in the way (yo 'yaṁ durbalaḥ san balavadbhiḥ saha bhāraṁ vahati).[3] Clever workers were known as uṣṇaka and lazy ones were called sītaka (yah sītaṁ karoti sa sītako yo voṣṇaṁ karoti sa uṣṇakaḥ.[4] Unfortunately there are no references to such labour problems, like, the unwillingness on the part of employers to give more to the employees, and extra or double wages or forced labour,[5] which we find in later Buddhist literature.

COMMUNICATIONS:- Facilities for transport, means of communications, particularly the types of carriages, and travelling in company, are other interesting items of economic life. In early times there were lines of communications connecting the North with the South-West-Sāvatthī (śrāvastī) to Paitthāna, with halting places at Ujjenī, Gonaddha, Vedisā, Kosambi and Sāketa; and from North to the South-East - Sāvatthī (Śrāvastī) to Rājagaha (Rājagiri), and from East to West, along which route boats plied for hire.[6] Traders undertook long inland

---

1. V. 1.116 p.442, L.19.
2. V. 2.14 p.374, L.13.
3. I. 3.1 p.273, L.22.
4. V. 2.74 p.387, L.5.
5. Sadd. Pun. III. 125; IV. 105, L.9; IV. 17.
6. Vinaya I. 81; III. 401.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

trips from Videha to Gandhāra, and from Magadha to Sovīra, from Bharukaccha round the coast to Burma; and from Banaras down the river to its mouth, and then on to Burma; and from Champā to the same destination.[1] With this much information as the background, it is not surprising to find in the Mahābhāṣya references to lines of communication connecting different centres in Madhyadeśa. We have also referred to certain other phenomenon pointing to the distance between Ujjayinī and Māhiṣmatī. Patañjali refers to the movement of ~~has referred to the mobile nature of persons~~ people, going from one village to another, and enquiring the way (grāmāntaraṁ gamiṣyāmi panthānam me bhavān upadiśatu iti).[2] The travellers also trod on forest roads (kantāra pathika), as well as on water and land (vāripathika, sthalapathika).[3] The streets for carriage drive were called rathyā.[4] An agreeable traveller in company was pathipriya,[5] and generally travelling was done in caravans - śakaṭasārtha[6] with a view to avoid risks which were inevitable if travelling alone. Even then sometimes the caravan lost its way, or was decoyed by robbers. These facts are not mentioned by Patañjali, but they are noticed in later literature.[7] Going in a carriage

---

1. Cf. Rhys Davids: Buddhist India p.104.
2. I. 1.49 p.118, L.22.
3. V. 1.77 p.358, L.22.
4. V. 1.6 p.339, L.5.
5. VI. 4.204 p.116, L.21.
6. III. 2.115 p.120, L.21.
7. Lalitavistara, XV. p.227, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was very common (rathikān upatiṣṭhate).[1] Horses, camels, and even asses were used in carts (aśvaratham - uṣṭra ratham and gardhaba ratham).[2] People also used a she-elephant (ārohayati hasti sthalam manuṣyān).[3]

BANKING:- Credit was playing an important part in the economic life. The money lender was known as prayojaka.[4] Interest, paid over and above the principal, was called vṛddhi. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned pañcavṛddhi,[5] probably five per cent interest. According to Vasiṣṭha Dharma Śāstra, quoted by Manu,[6] the rate of interest was 1¼ per cent. It is, however, to be seen if the rate of interest mentioned by Patañjali, is monthly or yearly. It was not unusual to charge such a high monthly rate of interest, but it was quite reasonable if ~~the~~ this rate was yearly. Interesting data on banking are furnished by the later Buddhist literature[7] - which refers to the negotiator of a loan (Iṇasādhaka), for the borrower (Iṇagāhaka) the harassment of debt (Iṇatta), and release from it (Iṇamokkhā), which we also notice in the Jātakas.[8] The Saddharma Puṇḍarika[9] calls money lending (yogaprayoga), and interest (prayoga).

---

1. I. 3.25 p.281. L.7.
2. IV. 3.120 p.318, L.19.
3. VIII. 1.56 p.378, L.17.
4. III. 1.26 p.36, L.8.
5. V. 1.47 p.351, L.12.
6. S.B.E. Vol.25 p.xxix; viii. 140.
7. Miliñdapanha, pp.365, 315, 32.
8. IV. 280; V. 239.
9. IV. 103; IV. 7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

There is no other reference in the Mahābhāsya on banking details.

We have discussed practically all aspects of economic life in detail - the professions of the pañca kārukī, the five artisan class - kulāla, karmāra, vardhakin, nāpita and rajaka, with their separate functions, workers in metal, especially the goldsmiths, blacksmiths; masons and architects; domestic servants, cooks and confectioners and certain wild professions, like, those of the fowler and the fisherman, and some low professions. The subject relating to Agriculture and husbandry is considered ~~was discussed~~ in detail with reference to the division of holdings, preparations and methods of sowing, which varied according to seasons and crops; and the amount of seed needed. Ripening, reaping and thrashing followed in the usual course, and the use of agricultural labour was a necessity, especially, in big holdings. Grain was stored in big jars. In this connection we also mentioned different crops. Husbandry or the profession of cattle rearing was closely associated with land, and cows and sheep were reared. Merchandise being a comprehensive subject, we considered the position of the vendor and the vendee, trade stipulations, and negotiations in a transaction in which the broker played his part. We also mentioned articles of trade noticed ~~found~~ in the Mahābhāsya. Such a developed economic life necessarily involved exchange, barter, and the intensive use of coinage.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A good many types of coins, mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya, can be identified with the Punch-marked coins, because their weights ~~tally~~ agree. Weights and measures are also noticed. Lastly, we referred to means of communication, and Banking, with reference to the position of the creditor and the rate of interest charged by him. The data present a true picture of the economic life in that period which was fully developed and completely matured.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL LIFE.

The evidence, afforded by the Mahābhāsya, on this aspect of Indian life is ~~not without its importance and interest~~ important and interesting. In the Preamble ~~to his work~~, Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned in detail the objects underlying the study of grammar, which, ~~besides others~~, ~~included~~ are the protection of the Vedas, and the utilization of learning in ~~different~~ various ways. The aims of study for seeking truth, and acquiring knowledge ~~in~~ of different subjects, methods ~~used~~ employed - both deductive and inductive, place and time of study, relations between the preceptor and the pupil, unworthy students and harsh teachers, types of educational institutions named after the teachers, writing, female education, and other miscellaneous subjects are mentioned by the Bhāsyakāra, either in comments or by way of illustrations. The material, provided by this work, is comprehensive enough for us to form an estimate of the ~~then prevailing~~ prevalent system. Patañjali ~~has~~ presented ~~the~~ a correct picture, as he notices the shortcomings as well. His insistence on the ~~picture correctly~~, ~~since he did not fail~~ grammatical accuracy extends to the popular sphere as well, as is illustrated by his comments on Vārttika (II.4.56). In a description of the dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman (the latter suggests the correct grammatical formation) reference to the grammatical accuracy in the popular sphere, as one notices in the typical illustration in his gloss to Vārttika on II.4.56. ~~It describes a dialogue between a grammarian and a coachman, and the latter points to the correctness of a grammatical formation.~~ This may be a solitary instance,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

But it is evident that ~~because~~ the Bhāṣyakāra wrote his work for the Śiṣṭas at a time when grammatical studies were being neglected, and there was the need for explaining and illuminating the sūtras of Pāṇini.

OBJECTS OF STUDY:- Patañjali ~~has~~ devoted a good portion of the first Pāda, in the first Āhnika of the first Chapter of the Mahābhāṣya, to the study of grammar, and its necessity, and ~~but~~ he also makes certain remarks on the objects of study. ~~No~~ no doubt, Grammatical study was necessary for the protection of the Vedas (rakṣārtham vedānām adhyeyam vyākaraṇam)[1], but it was also helpful in other ~~spheres~~ ways, as for example, in grasping the etymology of words, their formations, inflections and modifications (viparināmayitum)[2]. It was obligatory for a Brāhmaṇa to study ~~it~~ grammar as one of the six members of Vedic studies (Brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo 'dheyeyojñeya iti)[3], with a view to avoid ~~the possibility of using~~ the use of corrupt words (duṣṭāñśabdān mā prayuksmahīty adhyeyam vyākaraṇam)[4]. The other reasons, enumerated for this study, are: for proper case endings of the Prayāja hymns (savikbhatikāḥ śakyāḥ kartum)[5], it being compulsory for sacrificial priests (ā-ṛtvijīnāḥ syām)[6], and finally to ~~have~~ for communion with God (mahatā devena naḥ sāmyam yathā syāt)[7]. It is also suggested that as the words y

---

1. I. I.1 p.1 L.15.
2. Ibid., L.18.
3. Ibid., Ll.18-19.
4. Ibid., p.2 L.13.
5. Ibid., p.3,L.11.
6. Ibid., L.13.
7. Ibid., L.22.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Vedas, if studied ~~according to the rule~~ systematically, ~~become fruitful~~ bear fruit, so he, who uses the words ~~according to grammar~~ grammatically, obtains religious felicity (yathā vedaśabdā niyamapūrvam adhītāḥ phalavanto bhavanty evaṁ yaḥ śāstra-pūrvaṁ śabdān prayuṅkte so 'bhyudayena yujyata iti.[1] The objects, underlying the study of Śabdānuśāsana - the grammar, are: preservation (rakṣā), adaptation to circumstances (ūha), doctrine (āgama), quick understanding (laghu),[2] and the removal of confusion or doubts (asaṁdeha).

This study was also made from the utilitarian (laukika) point of view, namely, to prepare a Brāhmaṇa boy for properly discharging his duties ~~in places~~ where ~~his presence was required~~, required. The ultimate end ~~of all~~ was to seek the highest knowledge, as one finds in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.[3] According to the Bhāṣyakāra, knowledge could be ~~made~~ perfected ~~in four ways - at the time of~~ by receiving instruction (āgamakāla), assimilation (svādhyāya), teaching (pravacana), and lastly by practice (vyavahāra).[4] This shows that mere study with the teacher was not enough, but perfection needed[5] constant study, and ~~in~~ under different circumstances. It was also necessary for householders, to acquire learning so that they could attain, to be able to win a position in society.

---

1. Ibid., p.10, L.23.
2. Ibid., p.1, L.14.
3. IV. 4.21.
4. I. 1.1 p.6, L.1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Thus, a pupil, ~~who ran~~ running away from his teacher's place without ~~keeping up~~ fulfilling his terms of residence, was looked down upon as Khaṭvārūḍha[1], an iniquitous person who wished to use a bed-stead during his period of studentship. After completing his education, the student had a bath and ~~finally obtained~~ sought the permission of his preceptor to enter the life of a householder (adhītya snātvā gurubhir anujñātena khaṭvārodhavyā)[2]. It is, ~~however~~, clear that education was a necessity, and its ideal was not merely to seek the ultimate truth by attaining knowledge, but also to equip oneself for faithfully living the life of a householder.

State Museum Library Lucknow 7402

SUBJECTS OF STUDY:- Some of the subjects were particularly meant for the Brāhmaṇas, a few for the Kṣatriyas, but others could be studied universally by the dvijas. A Brāhmaṇa boy was expected to study and read Dharma, six Aṅgas and Vedas without any special occasion (brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo 'dhyeyo jñeya iti)[3], but the principal subject was grammar (pradhānaṁ ca saṭsvaṅ-geṣu vyākaraṇam). Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to the ancient custom amongst Brāhmaṇas of studying grammar after the time of "the sacrament of the holy thread" (purākalpa etad āsīt saṁskārottara-kālam Brāhmaṇā vyākaraṇaṁ sma adhīyate)[4]. The instruction in Vedic words was imparted

---

1. II. 1.16 p.384, L.10.
2. Ibid., L.11.
3. I. 1.1 p.1 L.19.
4. I. 1.1 p.5 L.7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to them only when they could understand the places of utterance, and internal and external efforts (involved in the production of sound), and articulated sounds (tebhyas tatra sthānakaraṇānupradānajñebhyo vaidikāḥ śabdā upadiśyante - tad adyatve na tathā vedam adhītya tvaritā vaktāro bhavanti).[1] Later on, the position was somewhat changed and the study of grammar was considered redundant (anarthakam vyākaraṇam iti), with the result that the Ācārya (Pāṇini) had to write his work with a view to stress its need. (tebhya evaṁ vipratipannabuddhibhyo 'dhyetṛbhya ācārya idaṁ śāstram anvācaṣṭe).[2]

A study of Vedas included all the four, with six Aṅgas, and their mystical (secret) treatises, śākhās of yajurveda, the Sāmaveda with its thousand paths (catvāro vedāḥ sāṅgāḥ sarahasyā bahudhā vibhinnā ekaśatam adhvaryuśākhāḥ sahasra-vartmā sāmaveda), the sacred traditions of the Bāhv-ṛcas (ekaviṁśatidhā bāhv-ṛcyam), the Atharvaveda with nine branches (navadhātharvaṇo vedo), treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic (vākovākyam), Epics, Historical legends (itihāsa), Purāṇas and the science of medicine (vaidyakam).[3] In another reference, Patañjali has also referred to texts, handed down by repetition from the Atharvaveda (ātharvaṇa āmnāyaḥ).[4] There are also

---

1. Ibid., Ll.7-9.
2. Ibid., L.17.
3. I. 1.1 p.9 Ll.21-23.
4. IV. 3.131 p.320, L.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

references to a work called Saṁgraha, Metrics (Chandaḥ śāstra)[1] and Dharmaśāstra.[2] The study of Astrology was made with measurements, and there are references to kāla - time, and muhūrta - a particular division of time (sakāṣṭhaṁ jyotiṣam adhīte - sakālaṁ sumuhūrtam.[3] A comparative study of all doctrines (sarvatantra)[4] is also mentioned. Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to Brāhmaṇīs studying kāśakṛtsnī doctrine and were accordingly known (kāśakṛtsnīm adhīte kāsakṛtsnā Brāhmaṇī).[5] In the same way, students reading Sumanottarā and Vāsavadattā were called saumanottarika and Vāsavadattika,[6] but one doubts if the reading of these stories could confer a different class of studentship. It could only imply that there was room for non-serious studies as well. In his comment on the Sūtra Chandobrāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāni), meaning that the affix denoting the 'announcer' has the force of 'one who studies' or 'one who knows', when added to a Veda - Text or Brāhmaṇas; and a prokta affix could only be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, when an adhyetṛ or vedetṛ affix follows it, Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned[7] the study of the Vedas, as announced by Kroḍa, Kaṅkaṭa, Muda, Pippalāda; the Kalpa texts announced by Kaśyapa or Kuśika, and other subjects. Paiṅgi was also read, along with the old Kalpas of Kāśyapins, Kauśikins, and Āruṇaparāji, as

---

1. I. 2.32 p.208, L.19.
2. I. 2.64 p.242, L.25.
3. VI. 3.79 p.170, L.17.
4. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.12.
5. IV. 1.14 p.206, L.9.
6. ~~Ref. 23. L.9.~~ IV. 2. 60 p 284 L 12.
7. IV. 2.66 p.286, L.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

suggested by Max Müller,[1] and old Sūtras including those of the Pārāśarins, Śailālins, Karmandins and Kṛśāśvins.

Besides popular studies including narratives (ākhyāyika), historical legends, Purāṇas and tales like those of Yava-krīta, Priyaṅgu, Yayāti, Vāsavadattā and Sumanottarā,[2] there was, probably, some training in ~~out of the~~ other way subjects, like, Vāyasa-Vidyā - the science of augury from observing crows, chiromancy etc. (āṅgavidyā), and the science of animals (golakṣaṇa - aśvalakṣaṇa).[3] Kṣātra vidyā, Dhārmavidyā[4] - juristic studies and traividyā were not neglected and Patañjali also refers to training given in archery (dhanuṣi śikṣate).[5] It is interesting to ~~find that~~ learn that a person belonging to a higher caste, even though degraded, was entitled to the study of the Vedas (Yadi tarhi nipātanāny apy evaṁ jātīyakāni bhavanti śrotṛyamaś chando 'dhīte).[6]

Despite the study of other subjects, the importance of grammar was immense, and Patañjali contemptuously refers to a bad grammarian (vaiyākaraṇapāśa).[7] This fact is also evident from the growth of grammatical literature between the time of Pāṇini and Patañjali. The latter has referred[8] to four land marks

---

1. His. Anc. San. Lit. p.364, note.
2. IV. 2.60 p.284, Ll.7-9.
3. Ibid., L.2.
4. Ibid., L.6.
5. I. 3.21 p.280, L.8.
6. III. 1.122 p.87, L.8.
7. V. 3.47 p.411, L.6.
8. VI. 2.36 p.125, L.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the history of grammar, represented by the schools of the four Ācāryas: Āpiśala, Pāṇini, Vyāḍi and Gautama, probably in chronological order. He has also mentioned the grammarians of the schools - Bhāradvājīya,[1] Saunāga,[2] Kuṇaravāḍava,[3] and Sauryabhagavata.[4] which will be referred to later on. One thing, however, is certain, namely, the emphasis laid on Vedic studies and grammar by all the schools.

PLACE AND TIME OF STUDY:- These varies according to circumstances and nature of studies. Patañjali has referred to gurukula or the 'teacher's house', where the pupils were always under the canopy of the preceptor to protect them (guruṇā śiṣyaś chatravacchādyaḥ śiṣyeṇa ca guruś chatravat paripālyaḥ).[5] Yājñavalkya also enjoined a naiṣṭhika Brāhmaṇa - a celibate all his life, to live with his Ācārya, and in the absence of the latter with his son, or wife, or even fire.[6] The Bhāṣyakāra also refers to an unsteady pupil, - known as tīrthakāka who, like a crow, wandered from teacher to teacher (yo gurukulaṁ gatvā na ciraṁ tiṣṭhati sa ucyate tīrthakāka iti).[7] There are references to pupils coming from teacher's place (aupādhyāyakam or ācāryakam)[8] which may imply that they were residing with him.

---

1. I. 1.20 p.73, L.26.
2. II. 2.18 p.416, L.15.
3. III. 2.14 p.100, L.8.
4. VI. 2.106 p.421, L.13.
5. IV. 2.62 p.333, L.1.
6. II. 49.
7. II. 1.42 p.391, L.7.
8. IV. 2.104 p.295, L.19.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The boarders were known as ante-vāsin,[1] and the teacher, providing lodging, was called ante-guru.[2] Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to daṇḍa-māṇavaka-staff-pupils belonging to different schools, as for example, Kāṇvā daṇḍa-māṇavāḥ and Dākṣā daṇḍa-māṇavāḥ,[3] who were probably day scholars. Daṇḍa or staff was the common mark of pupilage, indicating the school to which the pupils belonged. Sometimes this mark of pupilage was associated with a particular region, as for instance, Pañcālā māṇavakāḥ.[4] It was, really, the name and fame of the teacher that attracted students from different places. A teacher, approached from a distance of a hundred yojanas, was known as yaujana śatiko guru (yojanaśatād abhigamanam arhati).[5] There is no information on the question of fees, but it was charged in some form; and in certain cases, probably, paid in advance.[6] Sometimes it was the maternal uncle (mātulaka) who imparted instructions to the nephew (upādhyāyasya śiṣyo mātulasya bhāgineya).[7]

The time of study differed according to the age, and circumstances. The initiation started early in spring (vasanto'dhyayanam),[8] as is the practice even now in India, but

---

1. IV. 3.104 p.315, L.22.
2. VI. 3.10 p.145, L.16.
3. IV. 2.102 p.297, L.5.
4. IV. 1.165 p.267, L.9.
5. V. 1.74 p.358, L.17.
6. Miliñdapañha p.1.
7. III. 3.18 p.145, L.1.
8. IV. 2.63 p.284, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

in the light of the Kāśikā, it can be suggested that Patañjali was referring to the study of literature dealing with Vasanta (Vāsantikaḥ).[1] As a rule, students studied in the day time, but there are references to studious ones working at night as well (imakābhyām chātrābhyām rātrīr adhītā atho ābhyām ahar apy adhītam).[2] The Bhāṣyakāra also mentions a student studying in a quiet place at night after protecting the light from the wind (tathā kārīṣo 'gnir nivāta ekānte suprajvalito 'dhyayanam prayojayati).[3] Light was produced by burning dried cow-dung (kārīṣa) and it was necessary to sit in a quiet corner, lest the strong wind could cause fire in the hut. Though there are many references[4] to lamps in the Mahābhāṣya, the pupils had, perhaps, no money to pay for the oil.

METHODS OF STUDY:- The methods, too, varied according to the subjects, as for example, the rote one was most suitable in Vedic studies. Pāṇini, in his Sūtra śrotriyamś chando 'dhīte,[5] has referred to the śrotriyas, called Brāhmaṇas in the Kāśikā, who learnt by heart the Chandas or Vedas. In this connection, Patañjali has mentioned reading aloud (uccair adhīyāna nīcair adhīyāna).[6] This was done according to the prescribed rules (upayuktā mānavakā ity ucyanto ya ete niyamapūrvakam adhītavanto

---

1. p.308.
2. II. 4.32 p.481, L.10.
3. III. 1.26 p.33, L.8.
4. I. 1.49 p.119, L.9; II. 1.1 p.359, L.6 etc.
5. V. 2.84.
6. II. 1.2 p.376, L.7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

bhavanti)[1]. The Ācārya taught his pupils in a friendly way (tad ācāryaḥ suhṛdbhūtvānv ācaṣṭe)[2]. As pointed out by Patañjali, the Vedic scholar recited verses beginning with Śaṁ, a term expressing auspicuousness, in order of Sections (prapāthaka) after uttering the sacred syllable OM (OM ity uktvā vṛttāntśah śam ity evamādiñ śabdāān paṭhanti)[3]. From this, one gets the impression that the Vedic scholars were grown up and had a firm grounding in grammar which, in Patañjali's time, preceded Vedic studies. This enabled them to follow with ease ~~They could, thus, easily follow~~ the Vedic recensions in the light of the preceptor's comments, rather than ~~exclusively~~ committing verses to memory without properly understanding them. The earlier method, however, was not discouraged. Recitation, popularly known as Nipāṭha[4], was done in company (vyatipāṭha)[5]. Doubts, if any, were removed by the commentary or interpretation of the teacher (vyākhyānto viśeṣapratipattir na hi saṁdehād alakṣaṇam iti nityaparyāyavācino grahaṇam iti vyākhyāsyāmaḥ)[6] The ruling or explanation, given by the teacher, was binding (ācāryapravṛttir jñāpayati)[7].

It is interesting to find emphasis laid on pronunciation

---

1. I. 4.29 p.329, L.11.
2. II. 4.32 p.481, L.3.
3. I. 1.1 p.5, L.6 f.
4. VII. 29 p.283, L.8.
5. I. 3.15 p.278, L.24.
6. I. 1.1 p.6 Ll.27-28.
7. I. 1.2 p.15 L.25.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and recitation (vadāvada).[1] Those reading clearly were called sādhvadhyāyin, but others, rather slow, were known as vilambitādhyāyin.[2] There were some reciting with a sweet voice, like an Indian cuckoo (kokilābhivyāhārīr).[3] Patañjali also mentions the preceptor slapping the young pupil for wrong pronunciation (ya udātte kartavye 'nudāttam karoti khaṇḍikopādhyāyas tasmai capetam dadāti).[4] A Khaṇḍika upādhyāya taught only those pupils who learnt section by section, and, it seems, he had to manage with comparatively young boys who could be slapped, but ~~not~~ the older ones ~~who~~ were taught in a friendly manner.

There is no reference to examination in texts, but it is probably ~~suggested~~ implied in the two Sūtras of Pāṇini - Karmādhyayane Vṛttam and Bahvacpūrvapadāt thac.[5] The two sūtras explain the use of the affix thak in the sense of 'this is his act occurring in study', after a word in the first case in construction, if such word is an action (Karma) which occurred (Vṛttam) in study (adhyayana); or according to the next Sūtra in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study' after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member. Explaining this further, the Kāśikā classifies[6] students on the basis of errors, committed in recitation at the time of the examination (yasya adhyayane

---

1. VI. 1.12 p.17, L.6.
2. VI. 2.80 p.131, L.25.
3. Ibid., L.21.
4. I. 1.1 p.41, Ll.23-24.
5. IV. 4.63&64.
6. P.367.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

niyuktasya parīkṣākāle pathataḥ), as for instance, aikānyika, committing only one mistake; dvaiyānyika - two mistakes; and traiyānyika - three mistakes. But there were some who committed twelve mistakes (dvādaśānyika); and it needed a good many recitations to avoid lapses in pronunciation. The other Sūtra - Saṁkhyāyāḥ saṁjñāsaṁghasūtrādhyayaneṣu,[1] referring to the affixes under V. 1. 182, connoting a word which signified a numeral in the sense of 'this is its measure', when the word, so formed, means 'a name, multitude, a book, or a fixed way and method of study', mentions the number of times a subject was studied, as for example, five times (adhyayane pañcako'dhītaḥ).[2] This point is not stressed by Patañjali.

In another Sūtra tad adhīte tad Veda,[3] which refers to the use of the affix aṇa after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that' or 'who understands that', the Bhāṣyakāra in his gloss has clarified it by pointing out that adhīte referred to studies depending on memory - where the rote system was adopted. He called such a pupil sampāṭham pathati[4] viz. one who simply commits the texts to memory without understanding the meaning. The other way was grasping the contents, rather than letters in recitation (kaścic ca vetti na ca sampāṭham pathati). It is, therefore,

---

1. V. 1.58.
2. Cf. Kāśikā p.392.
3. IV. 2.59.
4. IV. 2.59 p.283, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

clear that there was room for proper thinking and understanding, commended earlier by Yāska[1] in his Nirukta, who compared cramming like dry logs of wood on an extinguished fire which can never illuminate.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRECEPTOR AND THE PUPIL:- The relations between the two were cordial, but failings on both sides were not wanting. The academic relations, more filial in nature, commenced when the preceptor, seriously upholding the sanctity of learning, started his instructions with Kuśa grass in his hand, and at an auspicuous moment facing the east. The pupil was required to acquire the affection of his teacher for his own welfare, both in this world and in the life after (ye tāvad ete guru-śuśrūṣavo nāma te 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante pāralaukikaṁ ca no bhaviṣyati iha ca naḥ prīto gurur adhyāpayiṣyati iti)[2]. The Smṛtis also enjoin upon the pupil to show reverence towards his preceptor. According to Yājñavalkya[3], he should serve or worship the preceptor for the sake of learning, and be attentive, while Manu has prescribed[4] service to the teacher, both as a student obedient to him, and even after the period of studentship. At another place, Patañjali has referred to a pupil living in the village for the sake of his preceptor and his learning (grāme gurunimittaṁ

---

1. Ibid., Ll.10-11.
2. III. 1.26 p.36, Ll.1-2.
3. II. 26.
4. II. 71, 72.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

vasāmaḥ-adhyayananimittaṁ vasāma iti).[1]

With begging bowl in his hands, the pupil went out on rounds (kamaṇḍalu-pāṇiṁ chātram adrākṣīti),[2] to the householders for food and other necessities (upādhyāyasya śiṣyo yājyakulāni gatvā grāsānādīni labhate).[3] According to Yājñavalkya, the pupil presented his alms to the preceptor (labdhaṁ tasmai nivedayet).[4] Some undesirables also stayed with the teacher. Patañjali ~~has~~ refers to such pupils, studying the work of Pāṇini for the sake of securing boiled rice (odana-Pāṇinīyāḥ), but the Rauḍhīyas were desirous of getting ghee (ghṛta-rauḍhīyaḥ), and the Cārāyaṇīyās stayed for blankets (kambalacārāyaṇīyāḥ).[5] These may have been the nicknames of these respective schools; but there were cases of students with little desire for learning, and they occasionally played truant. They tried to avoid their presence, but, when noticed by the teacher, they were discomfited (katham upādhyāyād antardhatta iti - paśyaty ayaṁ yadi māṁ upādhyāyaḥ paśyati dhruvam prekṣaṇam upā-lambho veti).[6] Such a thing was discouraged. The pupil with a smile looked beautiful (hasanaṁ chātrasya śobhanaṁ.[7] Yājñavalkya ~~has~~ prescribes[8] the following

1. I. 1.57 p.148, L.22.
2. I. 4.84 p.347, L.17.
3. I. 1.56 p.133, L.25.
4. II. 27.
5. I. 1.73 p.190, L.2.
6. I. 4.28 p.329, L.2.
7. III. 1.94 p.80, L.19.
8. I. 28. kṛtajñādrohimedhāvīśucikalyāṇasūcakāḥ adhyāpyāḥ sādhuśaktāptasvārthadā dharmatas tv ime

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

qualities in a student who should be taught according to Dharma: He should be grateful, non-hating, intelligent, pure, healthy, non-envious, honest, energetic, kindred, and should either impart knowledge or make a present of money. These qualities seemed necessary for a better understanding between the Preceptor and the Pupil.

In cases of students committing errors, or for wilful default, the teacher exercised his authority of punishing him for the welfare of the latter:- (Sāmṛtaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na viṣokṣitaiḥ - lāḍanāśrayiṇo doṣās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāḥ)[1]. Sometimes the teacher was harsh and was known as dāruṇādhyāpaka, but a well-disposed one was called śobhano'dhyāpaka[2]. An excellent or superior teacher was designated kāṣṭhādhyāpaka[3]. The pupils were also known according to their talents and disposition, as for example, a fiery boy (agnirmāṇavaka)[4], a talkative one (śabdakāry ayam māṇavaka)[5] and a wicked pupil (māṇavaka jaṭilakābhirūpa)[6], in contrast to a harsh teacher (jaṭilakādhyāpaka). These may be extreme cases, but generally the teacher was friendly and well-disposed towards his pupils. Despite the offering of equal opportunities, the results varied according to the

---

1. VIII. 1.8 p.367, Ll.12-13.
2. VIII. 1.67 p.379, Ll.19; 17.
3. VIII. 1.68 p.380, L.13.
4. VIII. 1.12 p.368, L.17.
5. I. 1.1 p.1, L.13.
6. I. 2.32 p.209, Ll.20,21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

intelligence of the pupils (samānam īha mānānām adhīyānānāṁ ca kecid arthair yujyante 'pare na).[1]

The Mahābhāṣya also refers to the wife of the teacher (upādhyāyī)[2] or (upādhyāyanī),[3] but there is no reference to the relation that existing between her and the pupil, though, as a member of the family, the pupil was expected to pay her equal reverance. Patañjali does not mention the qualities necessary in a teacher and his pupil, as we find in the Milindapañha,[4] nor is there any reference to hardships connected with student's life which, too, are mentioned in Buddhist literature.[5] He has classed the teachers into: Ācārya,[6] Guru,[7] Sikṣaka[8] and Upādhyaya.[9] Though they appear to be synonymous, there was, according to the Smṛti literature, a difference in their respective functions. Yājñavalkya[10] distinguishes the two terms, Guru and Ācārya; the former performed all the ceremonies even before the birth of the child till his initiation, but the latter initiated him into Vedic studies after performing the Upanayana ceremony. The position of the Upādhyāya was different. According to the Yājñavalkya Smṛti[11], he taught only a portion (khaṇḍa),

---

1. I. 1.5 p.31, L.22.
2. III. 2.21 p.147, L.20.
3. IV. 1.49 p.220, L.21.
4. p.94.
5. Ibid., p.315; Mahāvagga I. 25-26.
6. IV. 3.131 p.320, L.9.
7. I. 2.32 p.208, L.19.
8. I. 2.64 p.242, L.25.
9. VI. 3.79 p.170, L.17.
10. I. 34. Sa gurur yaḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā vedam asmai prayacchati upanīya dadādvedam ācāryaḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ
11. I. 35. ekadeśam upādhyāya

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

but, as Manu[1] suggests, for his livelihood (vṛttyartham). The status of the Śikṣaka appears to be analogous. As regards the different classes of students, we have already referred to ~~the~~ day scholars, and boarders (antevāsin). It may now be interesting to notice the types of schools named after the teachers, and the pupils who upheld the traditions of their respective schools.

DIFFERENT SCHOOLS - named after the teachers - GOTRAS and CARAṆAS:- The pupils were known after the teachers with whom they were attached. According to Pāṇini's Sūtra: ācāryopasarjanaś - cāntevāsī (VI.2.36) - when a scholar is named by an epithet, derived from the name of his teacher, that name is an ācāryopasarjana. In this class, Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned the dvanda compound - Āpiśalapāṇinīya vyāḍī-yagautamīyāḥ[2] - meaning the students belonging to the school of Āpiśala and Pāṇini; and Vyāḍi and Gautama. At another place, he ~~has~~ referred to the relation of schools with gotras, as for example, in asti no gargaiḥ sambandaḥ - asti no vatsaiḥ sambandha iti).[3] Both Pāṇini and Patañjali, have mentioned a number of gotras which appear to have been based on Vedic mantras, religious traditions and sacrificial customs associated with a particular sage and later on adopted by all his followers. Patriarchal

---

1. II. 141. Yo'dhyāpayati vṛttyartham upādhyāyaḥ sa ucyate
2. VI. 2.36 p.125, L.11.
3. II. 1.1 p.366, L.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

hegemony was recognized, and the head of the gotra was the connecting link to all those having physical and spiritual ties with that gotra. Different names to the succeeding pedigrees are also to be traced in the Mahābhāsya,[1] as for instance: Garga, his son Gārgi, grandson Gārgyaḥ and the great grandsons called Gārgyāyaṇas.

Caraṇa:- This term, occurring in the compound caraṇasambandha, has the sense of nivāsa (caraṇasambandhena nivāsalakṣaṇo).[2] Here Patañjali ~~has~~ quoted three caraṇas dwelling in the east (trayaḥ prācyāḥ), three in the west (traya udīcyāḥ), and three in the middle (trayo mādhyamāḥ). The position of the Caraṇas, often considered as synonymous with the Śākhās (cf. Nirukta - Sarvacaraṇānam explained by Sarvaśākhānam, I.17), engaged the attention of the late Professor Max Müller[3] who explained the difference between these two terms, as well as the Pariṣad, which is also mentioned by Patañjali.[4] According to the late Professor, Śākhā signified the various editions, or, more properly, the various traditions, that branched off from each of the three original branches of the Veda. In the latter sense, ~~though it seemed synonymous~~ despite its similarity with Caraṇa, there was an important difference, as we notice śākhām adhīte but never caraṇam adhīte,

---

1. IV. 1.93 p.247, L.22; IV. 1.1 p.193, L.14.
2. IV. 2.138 p.301, L.5.
3. Hist. Anc. Sans. Lit. p.124 f.
4. III. 3.108 p.155, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and still less Pariṣadam adhīte. Śākhā, originally meant a literary work, and that Caraṇa did not. The use of the term śākhā sometimes in the sense of Caraṇa was due to the fact that the former did not exist as written books, but only in traditions of the Caraṇas; each member of the latter representing, what should be called, the copy of a book. In a passage of Jagaddhara's commentary on Mālatimādhava, Caraṇa is said to mean a number of men who are pledged to the reading of a certain śākhā of the Veda, and who have in this manner become one body (Caraṇaśabdaḥ śākhāviśeṣādhyayanaparaikatāpannajanasaṁghavāci)[1]. He also referred to Pāṇini mentioning Caraṇas, as constituting a multitude - that is, comprising a number of followers (Caraṇebhyoḥ dharmavat - samūhārthe)[2]. In a vārttika on IV.1.63, even women are mentioned, as belonging to a Caraṇa, as for example, Kaṭhī[3] was the wife or daughter of a Brāhmaṇa who belonged to the Caraṇa or read the śākhās of the Kaṭhas. A Śākhā - a portion of the Śruti, could not properly include law books, but the followers of certain Śākhās could, in course of time, adopt a code of law binding on their Caraṇa only, which naturally, went after the name of their group. Thus Kāṭhakam could be used not only for the sacred traditions, but also for the laws of the Kaṭhas. According to

---

1. ~~Ref. 108~~. Maxmuller. Op. Cit
2. IV. 2.46.
3. VI. 3.42 p.157, L.13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Patañjali, these sacred traditions were known as Ā-mnāya, as for instance, the doctrines and traditions, associated with the school of Kaṭha were described as Kaṭhākām (kaṭhānām dharma ā-mnāyo vā kāthakam).[1] Others mentioned in this context are: Kālāpakam, Maudakam and Paippalādakam. Even the Prātiśākhyas were named according to Caraṇas, and they were the exclusive property of the readers of certain Śākhās, more than even the Kuladharmas or family laws. New Caraṇas, in later times, were also founded on sacred texts peculiar to themselves.

As regards the position of a Pariṣad, although every prātiśākhya could be called a Pārṣada (cf. Pan. IV.3.123), viz, a work belonging to a Pariṣad, not every Pārṣada could be called a Prātiśākhya except those which contained the rules of pronunciation for a popular śākhā or text of the Vedic hymns, studied and taught in certain Pariṣads. In this connection, may be cited the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[2] in which there is a reference to Śvetaketu's visit to the Pariṣad of the Pāñcālas.

With this explanation of the terms, serving as the background for a proper understanding, we may refer to the actual references to such schools in the Mahābhāṣya. The main grammatical schools were those of Āpiśali,[3] Pāṇini,[4] Vyāḍi,[5]

---

1. IV. 3.120 p.319, L.5.
2. VI. 2.
3. IV. 2.45 p.281, L.3.
4. I. 1.20 p.75, L.3.
5. I. 2.64 p.244, L.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Śākalaya,[1] Kuṇaravāḍava,[2] Sauvāsva[3] and Śākaṭāyana.[4] Amongst the Vedic schools were those of the Black Yajurveda (Kāṭhakam), and Kālāpakam which were very popular in different villages (grāme grāme Kāṭhakaṁ Kālāpakaṁ ca procyate),[5] the school of Varatantu (Vāratantavīyāḥ) and that of Tittiri (Taittirīyāḥ)[6] from the Black Yajurveda, and Paippalādaka,[7] a recension of the Atharvaveda.

Other schools, mentioned by Patañjali, including those of a specialized nature, were Yājñikas, Bahvṛcas, Aukthikas and Mīmāṁsakas.[8] The first one consisted of those who were well-up in rituals, but they were equally proficient in grammar as Patañjali ~~has~~ called them vaiyākaraṇas. The members of the second school were familiar with the Ṛg-Veda and could represent in sacrificial ceremonies. The Aukthikas studied the Ukthas - a kind of recitation, or certain verses, forming a sub-division of the Śāstras, recited in contra distinction to the Sāman verses which are sung, and yajñas, or muttered sacrificial formulas.[9] The last school was noted for its members following the Mīmāṁsā principles. According to Max Müller,[10] the Brāhmaṇas cared

---

1. I. 1.18 p.72, L.8.
2. VII. 3.1 p.317, L.9.
3. VI. 1.127 p.89, L.22.
4. III. 2.1 p.120 L.21.
5. IV. 3.101 p.315, L.11.
6. IV. 2.66 p.286, L.9.
7. IV. 1.1 p.195, L.25.
8. II. 2.29 p.430, L.20.
9. Monier Williams; Sans. Eng. Dict. p.726.
10. Ref.cit. p.78.

6p

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for the divine authority of the Śrutis and implicitly maintained the doctrines of the Ṛṣis in their original simplicity and purity. In philosophical discussions, they allowed ~~the~~ greatest possible freedom, and, although, at first only three philosophical systems were admitted as orthodox, the two Mīmāṁsās and Nyāya, their number was soon raised to six so as to include the Vaiśesika, Sāṁkhya and Yoga schools. Keith suggested[1] that from Medhātithi onwards, use is made of Mīmāṁsa principles to overcome legal difficulties which arose from the recognition in the law schools of many conflicting texts as all having authority, just as the Vedic texts, before the compilers of the Mīmāṁsa presented innumerable difficulties.

There were certain other schools, based on gotras or teachers, like those of Upagu - a pupil of that school was known as Aupagavīya,[2] and a young girl was called Aupagavī māṇavikā,[3] Kāpiñjali, and Kaulīni; their pupils were respectively called Kāpiñjalāḥ and Kaulīnāḥ[4]. There were some other schools of Kāṇvyāyana (Kāṇvāyaṇa), the descendants of Kāṇva; the pupils of this school were known as Kāṇvyāyanīyāḥ.[5] The Śālaṅkāḥ[6] belonged to the school of Śālaṅki, and the other ones were: Bhāradvājīyāḥ,[7] Śākalāḥ[8] Audameghāḥ (audamedhyāyāśchātrā

1. His. San. Lit. p.475.
2. IV. 1.90 p.243, L.5.
3. IV. 1.93 p.247, L.24.
*4. ~~Ref. 128~~ IV. 1.90 p.243 Ll.18; ~~10~~.
5. IV. 1.165 p.267, L.14.
6. IV. 1.90 p.244, L.25.
7. IV. 1.79 p.234, L.19.
8. IV. 1.18 p.210, L.7.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

audameghāḥ)[1], Audulomi[2], Gārgīyā[3], Vātsīyāḥ and Kāśyapāḥ[4] associated with their respective gotras.[5] The Kraudāḥ traced their descent from Kruḍa. There are also references to Kauśikinaḥ and Pārāśarinaḥ.[6] Patañjali ~~has also~~ mentioned[A] several other schools as well - Taumburaviṇaḥ[7], Hāridraviṇaḥ[8], Āruṇinaḥ[9], Śādyāyaninaḥ and Bhāllavinaḥ, Matharāḥ and Paiṅgalakāṇvāḥ. Sometimes ~~the~~ pupils studied at their father-in-law's house, and they were known as śvāśureryunaś chātrāḥ śvāśurāḥ.[10]

Some professional schools are also noticed by Patañjali, as for instance, those of actors (śailālin)[11], and players on instruments (mārdaṅgika)[12]. The references to musical instruments and play-acting in the Mahābhāṣya definitely suggests the existence of such schools which imparted instructions in play-acting and playing on instruments.[13] On this point, Kauṭilya has also referred to the arrangements for higher teaching for the production of great teachers. There were also schools or teachers who imparted instructions in military subjects

---

1. IV. 1.78 p.229, L.25.
2. IV. 1.78 p.230, L.5.
3. IV. 1.89 p.240, L.15.
4. Ibid., p.271, L.13.
5. IV. 2.66 p.286, L.12.
6. Ibid., L.16.
7. IV. 2.104 p.296, Ll.14-15.
8. II. 2.18 p.452, L.19.
9. I. 1.73 p.190, L.10.
10. IV. 1.90 p.243, L.98.
11. IV. 2.66 p.286, L.18.
12. IV. 4.55 p.332, L.4.
13. Arthaśāstra II. 27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(kṣātravidyā)[1], or practical training in the use of sword (asibhir yuddham), and cavalry (aśvair yuddham)[2]. It is not certain about the provisions made for teaching subjects like, Chiromancy (āṅgavidyā), and understanding the signs of crows (vāyasavidyā), cows and horses (golakṣaṇa - aśvalakṣaṇa); or in Itihāsa - historical legends, Pūraṇas, counting and accounting (parigaṇanā)[3]. There was room for elementary study (varṇapāṭha), though there is no reference to the young teacher, popularly known as dārakācārya[4] in later literature.

FEES AND PERIOD OF STUDY:- There is no ~~mention of~~ reference to the fees paid to the teacher, either in a lump sum, or by part payment, ~~though~~ but at one place Patañjali cites the gift of cows to the teacher (upādhyāya gām dadāti iti)[5]. The question of fees, it seems, was not very important, because the diffusion of learning had no mercenary motive. It was the duty of the householders to meet the requirements of the Preceptor and his family, as well as his pupils, but the Upādhyāya, whom Patañjali has called Khaṇḍiko-pādhyāya, in the light of Manu Smṛti[6], did charge for imparting instructions in only a portion of the Veda, or their Aṅgas. The ~~pupils, who were not boarders~~ day scholars, were expected to pay fees in cash, or in kind, so that the teacher

---

1. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.6.
2. V. 1.59 p.356, L.23.
3. I. 1.69 p.178, L.20.
4. Cf. Lalita Vistara V. p.124.
5. I. 4.32 p.330, L.13.
6. II. 141.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

could maintain himself and his family. The study of a portion, according to the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti[1] was also fruitful. There is no reference to the period of study, but, as suggested by Yājñavalkya,[2] for each Veda the Brahmacarya should be for twelve years or five, or, as some say, till they are completely acquired. Manu suggests[3] that a student, who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two or even one only without breaking the rules of studentship, shall enter the order of houseorder. Patañjali looked with contempt upon those entering domestic life without completing the period of study. It, therefore, seems that there was some prescribed period of study, though the actual number of years are not mentioned.

WRITING:- Despite insistence on the rote method, writing was in use, and the Greek script is mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya (Yavanānīlipi).[4] It is later on referred to as one of the 64 scripts in which the Śākyan prince Gautama was proficient.[5] The Mahāvastu has also mentioned[6] Yāvanī, besides other scripts - Puṣkarasārī, Kharoṣṭī (Kharoṣṭhī), Brāhmī, Kūṭalipī, Śaktinlipī, Lekhālipī and Mudrālipī or seal writing. It is certain that Greek, Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī were popular scripts in that period,

---

1. II. 47.
2. II. 36.
3. III. 2.
4. IV. 1.49 p.220, L.19.
5. Cf. Lalita Vistara.
6. Vol.I. p.135.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

though the use of the former two was confined to North-West India.

FEMALE EDUCATION:- In the Mahābhāṣya there are references to Upādhyāyā, Upadhyāyī[1] and Upadhyāyanī[2]. The last word is translated by Monier Williams[3] as 'the wife of a teacher', while the former two, probably, denoted a female teacher (upetyādhīyate tasyā upādhyāyī upādhyāyā). Patañjali has also referred to a young girl of the Aupagavī school (Aupagavī māṇavikā)[4] and a Brāhmaṇī studying Kāśakṛtsnī doctrines (Kāśakṛtsnīm adhīte Kāśakṛtsnā Brāhmaṇī).[5] There are two other terms in the Mahābhāṣya - Śāktīkī and Yāṣṭīkī[6] - both, being synonymous, mean 'female lance or spear-holder'. Does it signify that martial education was imparted to ladies? One is doubtful on this point, but as regards their literary education, references from earlier literature[7] suggest initiation of girls for education before marriage. The eminence of Ghoṣā and Lopamudrā, is evident from the Ṛg Veda, and in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,[8] there is a ritual for the benefit of a person anxious for the birth of a daughter, who could distinguish herself as a scholar in due course. Even the deeper

---

1. III. 3.21 p.147, L.20.
2. IV. 1.49 p.220, L.21.
3. Ref.cit. p.213.
4. IV. 1.93 p.247, L.24.
5. IV. 1.14 p.206, L.9.
6. IV. 1.15 p.209, L.10.
7. Cf. R.V. XI. 548.
8. VI. 4.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

problems of philosophy were probed into by women like Maitreyī and Gārgī, though such a thing was getting unpopular with the passage of time. According to Megasthenes,[1] the Brāhmaṇas did not communicate knowledge of their philosophy to their wives, lest they leave home. Manu ~~has~~ permitted[2] the upanayana of girls, provided the Vedic mantras for the occasion are not recited.

In the light of these observations, it is not surprising to notice Patañjali's reference to female education. The Mahāvastu has quoted two references[3] to female education - that of a banker's daughter being brought up as an ascetic, and she was competent enough to discuss śāstras, and another girl who belonged to the artizan class, but was talented.

Lastly the Bhāṣyakāra has referred to a handsome dark complexioned person who was conversant with every branch of learning, and was known as dittha.[4] This reference may suggest that there was scope for learning even for non-Aryans who were dark-complexioned, as Patañjali is very particular about the complexion of the Brāhmaṇas which he has described in the Mahābhāṣya.

ASSEMBLIES:- The word denoting learned bodies is Pariṣad

---

1. Frag. XLI - Ref. cit.
2. II. 66.
3. Vol. II. p.53; Vol. III. p.391.
4. V. 1.119 p.367, L.20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

but Patañjali has used the form Pariṣat.[1] Pāṇini has referred to the use of the affix nya after the word Pariṣad in the sense of 'who assembles there (Pariṣado nyaḥ bhavati samavāyān samavaiti ity etasmin viṣaye Pariṣadaḥnyaḥ).[2] Its constitution is referred to by Yājnavalkya,[3] who suggested that four persons, who knew the Vedas and the Dharmas, or only the three sciences, constituted a Pariṣad. "What it says is Dharma, or that which even one person, who is best among the knowers of spiritual sciences, declares." It appears that the institution of Pariṣad regulated the academic activities of different groups, or schools, and served as a means for the development and propagation of learning. The Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra[4] mentions a teacher with his Pariṣad.

We have taken into account the educational system in the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. The objects of study, with particular reference to grammar in the Preamble to his work - were many, but the ultimate aim was to seek the highest knowledge. It could be made perfect, not only at the time of receiving instruction, but also through assimilation, teaching and application. The continuous study at different periods made an enthusiastic student proficient in the understanding

---

1. III. 3.108 p.155, L.10.
2. IV. 4.44 Kāśikā p.364.
3. I. 9.
4. III. 2.40.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and interpretation of Vedic mantras at appropriate occasions. The subjects of study were, besides grammar which preceded Vedic studies, the four Vedas with six Aṅgas, their mysteries, a hundred Śākhās of YajuraVeda, and the Sāma-Veda with its thousand paths, treatises on dialogues, or the science of logic, Epics, Purāṇas and Medicine. Other studies included Saṁgraha, Metrics, Dharmaśāstra, Astrology, and a comparative study of all doctrines (Sarva-tantra), and popular subjects like the tales of Sumanottarā and Vāsavadattā. The Smṛtis, Chiromancy and the Science of animals are also mentioned. The place and time of study varied, though it was generally the home of the teacher, where the over-zealous pupils studied by the light of the cow dung fire in a quiet corner at night. There were also day scholars, and others who had partial instructions. The method of study was the rote system, but there was scope for discussion and interpretation for a proper understanding of the texts. Emphasis was laid on pronunciation, and, probably, there were examinations in recitations. The relations between the Preceptor and his pupils were very cordial - each side bearing his responsibility, but there were occasional lapses, like, the student running away due to the harshness of the teacher. We also mentioned the names of different schools, and referred to fees and period of study. Only the Khaṇḍika teachers charged for their instructions,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

others seem to be doing that freely, depending on the house-holders who met their requirements, and whatever the parting student paid as gurudaksinā on the completion of his education. Lastly, we referred to writing, female education, and the probable scope of study for non-Āryans, and the Pariṣads or assemblies. The reference to the Yavanānī or the Greek script is not surprising, since Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to the settlements of the Yavanas. In the light of the above study of the educational life in that period, it may be suggested that education was planned on the ancient model which laid stress on proper understanding and interpretation, without completely giving up cramming which was necessary in certain cases.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

India in the time of Patañjali witnessed the revival of Vedic sacrifices, as is evident from the references in the Mahābhāṣya, and the Ayodhyā inscription recording two horse-sacrifices performed by Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. The period was equally ~~important~~ notable for the evolution of the Viṣnu-Vāsudeva cult which had ~~seeded~~ originated earlier. These religious factors did not interfere with the Śramaṇa religions - ~~both~~ Buddhism and Jainism. The famous stūpas at Bhārhut and Sāñchī, the former with its railing and toraṇas, and the latter with the railing alone, testify to the unhampered activities of the Buddhists who created ~~dedications~~ endowments in that period. It is, ~~however,~~ supposed on the ~~basis of the~~ evidence ~~furnished by~~ of the Divyāvadāna,[1] that the Śuṅga monarch tried to undo the work done by Aśoka for Buddhism with a view to rise in the esteem of the Brāhmaṇas. Such ~~would be~~ is a short-sighted view. The Brahmanical Śuṅga Emperor was well-known for his horse sacrifices, rather than for his attempt to destroy Buddhism; ~~and~~ There is nothing to suppose the presumption of Dr Bagchi[2] that the Greek invasion was ~~his supposed anti-Buddhist attitude was in no way responsible for the Greek invasion of Northern India in that period as~~ inspired by the anti-Buddhist attitude of this monarch. —

---

1. pp. 433-4.
2. I. H. Q Vol XXII. 1946 pp 81ff.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

presumed by ~~Dr Bagci~~. ~~One has to accept facts, as they are.~~ It is ~~not possible to believe~~ unbelievable that Puṣyamitra would have permitted these Buddhist dedications ~~as an~~ (he was an) antagonist. The Hāthigumphā inscription of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga reveals the prosperity of Jainism in Kaliṅga. ~~Equally important were~~ (There also flourished) the ascetic orders, some of which are ~~also~~ mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. In this connection, it is interesting to study some of the inscriptions which corroborate the evidence furnished by the Mahābhāṣya on this subject, with particular reference to the Bhāgavata cult. With this short introduction as the background, ~~we may now~~ (let us) consider (the) different aspects of (the) religious life, and conditions in that period.

REVIVAL OF VEDIC SACRIFICES:- In the preamble to his work, the Bhāṣyakāra, while stressing the need for the study of grammar, ~~has~~ (also) referred to the study of Yājñika Śāstra (Yājñikāḥ Śāstreṇa anuvidadhate)[2]. It is well-known that Aśoka had discouraged sacrifices of animals, but they were revived, and perhaps with greater enthusiasm, in the time of Puṣyamitra. Patañjali also quotes in the Mahābhāṣya references to sacrifices, performed for this Brahmanical ruler (iha Puṣyamitram yājayāmaḥ[2]; Puṣyamitro yajate yājakā yājayantīti[3][4]).

---

1. Cf. I.H.Q. Vol.XXII. 1946, pp.81 f.
2. I. 1.1 p.9, L.17.
3. III. 2.123 p.123, L.3.
4. III. 1.26 p.26, p.34, L.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

This is supported by the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva which records the performance of two Aśvamedha sacrifices by Puṣyamitra (dvirasvamedha yājinaḥ - senāpateḥ Puṣyamitrasya)[1] and the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālīdāsa[2]. The Mahābhāṣya also refers to different types of sacrifices: Agniṣṭoma, Rājasūya, Vājapeya, and the Yūpa, as well as, the domestic ones - Pākayajña or Pañcayajña, accessories needed in such sacrifices, their duration and fruits that accrued from their performances, and lastly the priests required for them, who received the handsome daksiṇās. Though the material, furnished by the Mahābhāṣya on this point, is not as much as one finds in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, still it is enough to suggest the revival of such sacrifices in that period. Patañjali ~~has also~~ referred to persons unqualified for this purpose (yājñika-pāśa)[3], and also mentions the amount of daksinā, the sacrificial fee given to the Brāhmaṇas - sometimes the gelded bull (mahāniraṣṭo dakṣiṇā dīyate)[4]; but occasionally the same cow passed on a thousand times (sahas rakṛtvo dattvā tayā sarve te sahasradakṣiṇāḥ sampannāḥ)[5]. This may be an exaggeration but it is not unusual for a Brāhmaṇa to dispose of the cow which he has received from his yajamāna, and the same is purchased again for that purpose.

---

1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.X. p.203, L.2.
2. Act V.
3. V. 3.47 p.411, L.6.
4. VI. 2.38 p.125, L.21.
5. I. 1.2 p.17 L.27.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TYPES OF VEDIC SACRIFICES:- Patañjali has mentioned Agniṣṭoma, Rājasūya and Vājapeya, besides the domestic sacrifices. The first one is mentioned several times,[1] and the merits accruing from its performance are also enumerated. This sacrifice is an ancient one mentioned in the Atharvaveda,[2] and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[3] As the simplest and the most common of soma-sacrifice, it required the immolation of a single goat, a he-goat to Agni and the chanting of twelve stotras, viz. the Bahish-Pavamāna and four Ājya-stotras at the morning sacrifice; the Mādhyamdina-pavamāna and four pṛṣṭha-stotras at the mid-day service; the Tritīya (or Ārbhava)-pavamāna, and the Agniṣṭoma-sāman at the evening service. The last named chant gave its name to this sacrifice which is often explained as the Agniṣṭoma-saṁsthās kratuḥ or the sacrifice concluding with Agni's praise.[4] The Mahābhāṣya does not mention changes, if any, made in the sacrifice of the animal. It's time of performance, left vague in earlier texts, is unaccounted for by Patañjali. Keith doubted the views expressed by Hillebrandt, that it was the spring festival, celebrated at the new or full moon, which marked the beginning of the year, when a nectar of the gods was offered to them in the shape of King Soma.[5] It would be out of place to describe here in

---

1. IV. 3.66 p.312, Ll.4, 7; III. 4.1 p.168, L.15 etc.
2. IX. 9.2; XI. 9.7.
3. III. 7.1.13.
4. Cf. S.B.E. Vol.XLI. p.xiii.
5. Religion and Philosophy of the Veda, p.327; ~~cf. also~~ cf. E.R.E. Vol.12, p.795 and ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

detail this Vedic ritual which seems to have been suspended, till it was revived again.

The Royal Consecration ceremony, known as the Rājasūya yajña,[1] was performed for the purpose of conferring powers on the new king. Abhiṣecanīya, as the name of a rite included in the Rājasūya, is mentioned in the White Yajur Veda, and in the three Saṁhitas of the Black Yajur Veda, as well as in several Brāhmaṇas, and the Śrauta ritual of all the four Vedas. The last book of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa has abhiṣeka itself for its main topic. The details of the inauguration ceremony, as described in the Sanskrit literature, may be out of place here, but according to Goldstücker,[2] the Vaidika ceremony had undergone various modifications, and the inauguration ceremony at the Pauranic period had but little affinity with the Vaidika rite. Dr F.W. Thomas suggested[3] that there were also special causes at work, such as the neglect of the old Śrauta rituals, or the necessity of providing new forms for rulers who were without title to Kṣatriya rites. Patañjali has not mentioned the details of this sacrificial rite which was certainly performed with the consecration of the Brahmanical Sunga ruler. A distinction is drawn between the Rājasūya, an elaborate ritual prescribed for a Kṣatriya King desirous of paramountcy, and Abhiṣeka which was a necessary act of State, including priestly

---

1. V. 3.66 p.312, Ll.4, 8, 12.
2. Sanskrit Dictionary p.280.
3. E.R.E. Vol.I. p.21 f. and all Ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

rites. The Rājasūya, on the other hand, was an optional religious rite, undertaken with a ~~certain~~ set in object and included a ceremony of consecration. It displayed many popular elements in character with the great nobles and office bearers playing an important part.

The Vājapeya,[1] referred to by the Bhāsyakāra, is mentioned in the Atharvaveda[2] and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[3] and fully described in the Śrauta ritual of all the Vedas. The object and the persons entitled to perform it, have been discussed by earlier authorities. According to the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra,[4] it was performed by one desiring supremacy (ādhipatya-kāma), the Śāṅkhāyana gives, instead, one desiring abundance of food (annādya) and the Lātyāyana requires it for one promoted by brāhmaṇas and kings (yām brāhmaṇā rājānas ca puraskurvīran sa vājapeyena yajeta). According to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[5] the rite originated with Indra and Bṛhaspati, who, both by the aid of Savitṛ won Prajāpati. The reasonable solution, as suggested by Eggeling and Hillebrandt[6] is that Vājapeya was originally general for all ranks which severally had more special rites, the Rājasūya, Bṛhaspatisava, Sthapatisava Grāmaṇīsava etc etc. The features of the Vājapeya itself seem to point to the conclusion of Weber that it was originally

---

1. IV. 3.66 p.312, Ll.5, 8, 12.
2. XI. 7.7.
3. III. 41.1.
4. IX. 9.1.
5. V. 1.1.
6. Cf. E.R.E. Vol.I. p.21 f and Ref.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a popular celebration of victory or promotion.

In the Mahābhāṣya Agniṣṭoma is associated with Brāhmaṇas (tathā vede khalv api vasante Brāhmaṇo 'gniṣṭomādibhiḥ kraturbhir yajet)[1]. A bit of confusion, however, seems to have arisen regarding its curious position. Some texts place it above the Rājasūya, suggesting that the former conferred paramountcy, while the latter only kingship. Others make the Vājapeya appropriate for a paramount lord, and the Rājasūya for a universal monarch like Varuṇa.[2] Keith suggested[3] a simple solution by making the Vājapeya a rite which was performed by the King before the Rājasūya, and by the Brāhmaṇa before the Bṛhaspatisava, a festival celebrated on his appointment as a royal Purohita.

Next in order is the Aśvamedha sacrifice which was actually performed by the Śuṅga monarch. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned it separately in three different references.[4] He ~~has~~ also referred to Aśvayūpa,[5] the post to which the sacrificial horse was tied, with its wooden ring at the top. It is evident that the horse-sacrifice was not in letters, but an accomplished fact in this period. It is probable that Patañjali may have joined in any of the two horse sacrifices as a priest.

YŪPAS:- Patañjali ~~has~~ also referred to Yūpas, in a number

---

1. VI. 1.84 p.57, L.21.
2. Cf. Vedic Index. Vol.II. p.256 and Ref.
3. Ref.cit. p.340
4. I. 4.9 p.315, L.9; III. 1.85 p.64, L.22; VII. 1.39 p.256, L.14
5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of references,[1] which were set up for binding the sacrificial animal. He has also mentioned the material of their make - dāru or vaibhītāka (Terminalia Bellerica) - yūpāyadāru[2] - vaibhītako yūpaḥ.[3] These Yūpas were associated with Vedic sacrifices, and detailed instructions regarding their shape and size are mentioned in that literature. Thus, in the case of the Vājapeya sacrifice, its height should be 17 cubits, but in others it varied from five to fifteen cubits.[4] Its octagonal shape is fancifully compared in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[5] to the eight syllables of each line of the Gāyatrī metre. The stem was never straight, but curved, both at the top and at the centre; and at a distance of two to eight inches from the top of the post was a ring or kaṭaka technically called caṣāla, which is mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra.[6] Though wooden Yūpas have not been found so far, numerous stone Yūpas have been discovered in Northern India, the earliest being of the time of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Vāśiṣka.[7] It is interesting to find in the Gṛhya-Sūtra and Dharma-Sūtra literature, sentiments contrary to the setting up of these Yūpas. Thus Vasiṣṭha,[8] Baudhāyana,[9]

---

1. I.1.1 p.38, L.17; II. 1.36 p.390, 1.9 etc.
2. II. 1.36 p.390, L.9.
3. V. 1.2 p.338, L.10.
4. Kāt. Śrau. Sūt. VI.3.
5. V. 2.1.5
6. I. 1.1 p.38, L.17.
7. Vogel: Catalogue - Mathurā Museum. No. Q.13.
8. IV. 37.
9. I. 5.9.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Visnu,[1] and Āsvalāyana[2] declared that the very touch of a yūpa was as polluting as that of a funeral pyre, or a woman in her courses. These views were, probably, not endorsed, as we find references to the yūpas, and the actual performance of horse sacrifices in the time of Patañjali.

DOMESTIC SACRIFICES:- There are also references to domestic sacrifices, like, Pākayajña,[3] or Pañca mahā-yajña.[4] The former, according to the Āsvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra was of three kinds - the hutas viz. the sacrifices offered over the fire; over something that is not the fire - prahutas; and the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas (trayaḥ pākayajnā hutā agnau iyamānā anagnau prahutā brāhmaṇabhojane brāhmaṇihutāh).[5] Manu has mentioned four forms of this domestic sacrifice (ye pākayajñās catvārovidhiyajña samanvitāh).[6] According to the Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra,[7] it denoted ceremonies connected with worldly life, but Max Müller suggested[8] that the general name of the sacrifices, performed according to the Gṛhya Sūtras, was Pākayajña, where Pāka symbolised either 'small' or 'good'. Gautama has mentioned[9] seven kinds of Pākayajñās viz. the Aṣṭaka, Parvaṇa

---

1. 22.69.
2. III. 6.8.
3. IV. 2.35 p.277, L.9.
4. IV. 1.33 p.214, L.12.
5. I. 1.2-3.
6. II. 86; Cf. Vaśistha XXVI. 10.
7. I. 9.26.
8. His. Anc. Sans. Lit. p.203.
9. VIII. 18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(offered on the new and full moon days), the funeral oblations, Śrāvaṇī, Āgrahāyaṇī, Caitrī and Āśvayujī. These are not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but they are described in detail in the Āśvalāyana[1] Gobhila[2] and Pāraskara[3] Gṛhya-Sūtras. One, no doubt, finds traces references to Āṣṭaka[4] and Āgrahāyaṇī[5] but they are used in different senses.

The performance of the Pañca-mahāyajñās was incumbant on every householder (Sarveṇa ca gṛhasthena pañcamahāyajnā nirvartyā)[6]. These, according to the Smṛtikāras[7] were: sacrifice offered to the Brahman (adhyāpanam brahma-yajnaḥ, the offering of water (tarpaṇa) to the manes (pitṛyajñas tu tarpaṇam), the burnt oblation - the sacrifice offered to the gods (homaḥ prahuto), the Bali offering to the Bhūtas (bhavtiko bali), and the hospitable reception of guests, the offering to men (nṛyajño 'tithipūjānam). The oblations to Devas is alluded to in the expression (sāyamprātar homa-carupuroḍāsān nirvapati)[8], but more information is available in relation to manes. Besides the havya and kavya oblations, offered to gods and pitṛs respectively, it was necessary to perform śrāddha, and the person dining on that particular day was called śrāddhi or śrāddhika

---

1. I. 1.2.
2. III. 10 seq.
3. III. 3 seq.
4. IV. 2.104 p.298, L.25.
5. II. 3.38 p.455, L.13.
6. IV. 1.33 p.214, L.12.
7. Manu. III. 70; Gaut. V. 3-5; Yāj. I. 102.
8. IV. 1.53 p.214, L.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

(Śrāddham anena bhuktam).[1] This is done even now for propitiating the manes, and for one's spiritual welfare. The wife joined her husband in the performances of sacrifices, and was entitled to an equal share of the fruits (patnīsaṁyāja iti yatra yajñasaṁyogaḥ), but this privilege was not accorded to a Śūdra lady, despite her legal status (evam api tusajakasya patnīti na sidhyati).[2] Patañjali does not mentioned the penance for the non-performance of such sacrifices, but, according to Manu, such a person lives not though he breathes (na nirvapati pañcānām ucchavasan na sajīvati).[3]

Turāyaṇa was another kind of sacrifice mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra (yas turāyaṇena yajate sātaurāyaṇika ity ucyate).[4] It was one of the forms of the new and full moon offerings which could extend to a year in duration.[5] The Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa mentions Turāyaṇa, as a yajña performed for the attainment of heaven (sa esa svargakāmasya yajñaḥ).[6]

SOMA DRINKING:- There are no references in the Mahābhāṣya to other kinds of Vedic sacrifices, like, Jyotiṣṭoma or Āyuṣṭoma which are mentioned by Pāṇini,[7] and were performed

---

1. II. 1.1 p.361, L.21.
2. IV. 1.33 p.214, Ll.11-12.
3. III. 72.
4. V. 1.72 p.358, L.7.
5. Cf. Keith: Ref.cit. p.324. (cp)
6. IV. 11.
7. VIII. 3.83.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for obtaining longevity. Soma drinking ~~seems to have~~ was known, as Patañjali ~~has~~ referred to Kuṇḍapāyya[1] at which ewers or pitchers were used. The other form was called saṁcaya which required the stocking or accumulation of Soma. It is mentioned in the same Sūtra of Pāṇini, but is unnoticed by the Bhāṣyakāra. He has, however, referred to the drinking of Soma according to the Yājñika school, which conferred this privilege on that person alone in whose family no one had suffered social degradation during the preceding three generations.(evaṁ hi yājnikāḥ paṭhanti - daśapuruṣanūkaṁ yasya gṛhe śūdrā na vidyeran sa somam pibed iti)[2]. According to Manu, the economic prosperity of the individual weighed in his claim to drink soma, that is, he possessed food, enough to last for three years or more, with which to maintain his dependents (yasya trai vārṣikam bhaktam paryāptam bhṛtyavṛttaye - adhikaṁ vā api vidyeta sa somam pātum arhati)[3]. If the Soma was drunk with a stock less than the prescribed one (svalpīyasi dravye yaḥ)[4], the labour was wasted (na tasya āpnoti tat phalam).

MINOR SACRIFICES:- There were certain minor sacrifices, like, navayajña[5] and cāturmāsya[6]. The former, according to Gobhila[7], was an offering of the first fruits of the harvest;

---

1. III. 1.130 p.89, L.16.
2. IV. 1.93 p.248, L.14.
3. XI. 7.
4. XI. 8.
5. IV. 2.35 p.277, L.8.
6. V. 1.94 p.360, L.21.
7. III. 8.9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and a mass of boiled rice grains with milk, sacred to Indra and Agni, was prepared. The latter represented three sacrifices performed at the beginning of the three seasons of four months each viz. Vaiśvadevam, Varuṇapraghāsaḥ and Sākam-edhaḥ.[1] These coincided with the beginning of the three seasons - on the full moon days of the month of Phāluguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika.[2] There are also references to certain other rites, as for instance, Sthālipāka,[3] Caru,[4] Puroḍāsa[5] and Kapāla,[6] which may be considered in detail later on.

PRIESTS, ACCESSORIES AND DURATIONS OF SACRIFICES:- The beginning of a Vedic sacrifice was preceded by the recitation of sacred mantras, popularly called Svastivācana, which was followed by Puṇyāha-vācana, recited for wishing an auspicuous day,[7] while Śānti-vācana averted an evil. The Bhāṣyakāra has actually referred to a mantra[8] recited in a sacrifice - aśravanatīm āruhemā svastaye. The principal ceremony was known as Prayāja.[9] Its performer was called Ṛtvij[10] and the sacrificer was known as yajamāna.[11] The Adhvaryu[12] priest,

---

1. Tait Sam. i.6.10.
2. Cf. Vedic Index. Vol.II. p.259 and ref.
3. IV. 1.85 p.237, L.8.
4. V. 1.2 p.337, L.15.
5. V. 1.72 p.358, L.9.
6. IV. 1.88 p.239, L.14.
7. V. 1.111 p.362, L.20.
8. III. 1.86 p.65, L.13.
9. I. 1.1 p.3, L.10.
10. I. 1.27 p.86, L.7.
11. II. 2.49 p.486, L.9.
12. I. 1.3 p.48, L.26,etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

distinct from the Hotr[1] and Udgātr[2] had to perform numerous functions, like measuring the ground, building the altar, preparing sacrificial vessels, fetching wood and water, lighting the fire and finally bringing the animal to the sacrificial post and immolating it. While engaged in these duties, the hymns of the Yajurveda had to be repeated by him.[3] Neṣṭā (Neṣṭṛ) - the other priest, mentioned in the Vedic literature,[4] was engaged in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice; as one of the chief officiating priests, he led forward the wife of the sacrificer, and prepared the Surā. The Priests connected with the Ṛg-Veda sacrifices, and mentioned by Patañjali, are: Hotā (Hotṛ), and Potā (Potṛ).[5] The functions of the former are clearly defined in the Ṛg-Veda,[6] his chief duty being the recitation of the Śāstras. The latter, too, was one of the priests mentioned in the Ṛg-Veda, and in the Brāhmaṇas.[7] It is presumed by its derivation from the root √Pū - to purify, that he was engaged in the purification of Soma, and actually sang Soma hymns. Oldenburg's suggestion[8], that he ceased in later literature to be a priest of any importance, save a mere name, may be true. Patañjali ~~has only~~ compared

---

1. II. 1.1 p.372, L.11 etc.
2. II. 4.1 p.372, L.12 etc.
3. Cf. R.V. X.41.3; Ait Brāh 7.16 etc.
4. R.V. I.15,3. Taitt Sam. i.8,18,1; Ait Brāh. VI.3,10. Śat.Brāh. iii.8,2.1.
5. Ref. 82.
6. II. 1.2; 36,1.etc.
7. R.V. I.94.6; II. 5.2; Ait Brāh. VI.10 et seq; Śat Brāh IV. 3,4,22
8. Religion des Veda pp.383,391,395.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the two terms without further comments. The other priests mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra are: Praśāstā (Praśāstṛ) and Pratihartā (Pratihartṛ)[1], and Agnīdha[2]. Their functions are not defined, but in earlier times Praśāstṛ appeared as Hotṛ's assistant[3], while Pratihartṛ was attached to the Udgātṛ, as we find in the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas[4]. The last one was connected with the Atharvaveda confining himself to the kindling of fire, as his designation suggests. There is, however, no reference in the Mahābhāṣya to the requisitioning of their services in actual sacrifices.

The accessories to a sacrifice included, firstly, the special area with a place for recitation (Stuti-bhūmi) and the avaskara[5], a pit for throwing refuse which are not mentioned by the Bhaṣyakara. The kuśa[6] grass, also called Pavitra in the Kāśikā[7], was used in sacrifices. In the Soma sacrifice, the Pūtikā grass (pūtīka-tṛṇa) was substituted though Soma had not become obsolete (Vede 'pi somasya sthāne pūtīkatṛnāny abhiṣunuyād ity ucyate na ca tatra somo bhūtapūrvo bhavati)[8]. Patañjali has commented on the Sūtra relating to the irregular

---

1. III. 2.135 p.130, L.23.
2. IV. 3.120 p.318, L.23.
3. R.V. I.94,6; Vāj Sam X.21; Śat Brāh IV. 6,66 etc.
4. Taitt. Saṁ. iii. 3.3.1; Tait Brāh. i,8,2,3; Śat Brāh. IV. 3,4,22 etc.
5. IV. 3.28.
6. II. 2.34 p.436, L.21.
7. III. 2.185 p.2.
8. I. 1.56 p.137, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

formation of the word 'dvaṁdva' in the sense of 'secret', and when it expresses a limit, a separation, employing in a sacrificial vessel (yajñapātra), and manifestation,[1] but he does not referred to that part relating to sacrificial cups which are accessories in a Vedic sacrifice. The oblation material was known as sāṁnāyya,[2] a substance mixed with clarified butter and offered as a burnt offering. It was especially an offering of the Agnihotṛis, consisting of milk taken from a cow on the evening of the new moon mixed on the next day with other milk, and offered with clarified butter.[3] The oblations were prepared, or offered in five cups or bowls (pañcakapāla) or in ten (daśakapāla).[4] The Vedis were constructed for sacrificial purpose, but there is no reference to the material used in preparing these altars which needed special class of bricks, as mentioned by Paṇini (tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itīṣṭakāsu luk ca matoh).[5] The fire was kindled by the priest, followed by offering oblations with the recitation of mantras (tathā agnau kapālāny adhiśṛtya abhi-mantrayate).[6]

The important part in such sacrifices was the recitation of the mantras for invoking Vedic deities. There was an injunction against the use of the apa-śabdas in yajñas (yajñe

---

1. VIII. 1.15 p.370, L.20 f.
2. V. 4.36 p.435, L.16.
3. Cf. T.S. 2,5,3,3; T.Br. 3,2,3 11; Śat Bra. 1,6,2,6.
4. IV. 1.88 p.239, L.14.
5. IV. 4.125.
6. 1.1.1 p.8, L.18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

punaḥ karmani nāpabhāṣante)[1]. A bad sacrificer was called yājñikapāśa[2]. The mantras differed according to the nature of sacrifices. Thus, Patañjali has referred to the Rājasūya mantras, as well as those meant for the Agniṣṭoma and Vājapeya sacrifices (agniṣṭome bhavo mantro 'gniṣṭomaḥ - rājasūyaḥ vājapeyaḥ)[3]. The technical word juhoti is used for those sacrificial ceremonies to which the root √hu and not √yaj is applied[4]. The adaptable nature of the Vedic mantras, with reference to case endings not provided for, may suggest that Patañjali had first hand information of sacrificial ceremonies (na sarvair liṅgair na ca sarvābhir vibhaktibhir vede mantrā nigaditāḥ[5]. The other technical words udgrābha and nigrābha[6] are used in the sense of 'the uplifting' and 'falling' of śruk (udgrābhaḥ nigrābha iti imau śabdau chandasi vaktavyau śrug udyamānanipātanayor arthayoḥ)[7]. It is equally interesting to notice the reference to the Sāmidheni mantras becoming seventeen in number by the threefold repetition of the first and the last hymns (saptadaśa sāmidhenyo bhavantīti triḥ prathmām anvāha trir uttamām ity āvṛttitaḥ saptadaśatvam bhavati)[8]. He has also commented on the Sūtra ye yajña-karmaṇi, giving

---

1. 1.1.1 p.11 L.14.
2. V. 3.47 p.411, L.6.
3. IV. 366, p.312, L.4.
4. II. 3.3 p.444.
5. 1.1.1 p.1 L.16.
6. III. 3.36 p.148, Ll.8-9.
7. Ibid.
8. I. 1.2 p.17, Ll.23-24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

special accentuation to the vowel of ye forming part of the sentence 'ye yajāmahe' which was to be uttered with circumflex accent (pluta) only, during the process of the sacrifice (ye yajāmahe śabdo brūhyādiṣu upasaṁkhyeyaḥ.[1] Japa or the muttering of the beads, generally accompanied the burning of yajñasamidha, as is done even now (bhṛśam japati brāhmaṇaḥ - bhṛśam samidho dahatīty eva.[2]

The duration of sacrifices, fruits accruing from them, the dakṣiṇā given to the Brāhmaṇas, and the latter's relation with the yajamāna are some other minor points worth consideration. The Bhāṣyakāra ~~has~~ referred to the yajñas lasting for a hundred, or even a thousand years. (dīrgha sattrāṇi vārṣaśatikāni vārsasahasrikāṇi ca); but they were no longer in practice, and only heard of in ritualistic portion of the Vedic literature (na ca adyatve kaścid api vyavaharati kevalaṁ ṛṣi sampradāyo dharma iti kṛtvā yājñikāḥ śāstrena anuvidhate)[3] There were others lasting for four months (catursu māsesu bhavāni cāturmāsyāni yajñāḥ).[4] The Pañca mahāyajñās were to be performed every day. As regards the fruits of a sacrifice, the performer of an Agniṣṭoma was supposed to be free from rebirth (kuto nu khalv etad agniṣṭoma yājīty etad upapadam bhaviṣyati na punar janiteti).[5] The sacrificial fee - dakṣiṇā

---

1. VIII. 2.88 p.419, L.5.
2. III. 1.22 p.30, L.13.
3. I. 1.1 p.9, Ll.15-17.
4. V. 1.94 p.361, L.2.
5. III. 4.1 p.168, L.10.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

however, varied. Patañjali ~~has~~ referred[1] to a gelded bull as dakṣiṇā (mahāmiraṣṭo daksiṇā dīyate). The relations between the priests and the yājamānas were of a cordial nature, known as srauva sambandha[2], that is, relationship through śruva or ladle which was placed on a par with others emanating from money (artha), blood (yauna) and education (maukha).

VEDIC GODS:- The list of Vedic deities, ~~mentioned by Patañjali~~ noticed in the Mahābhāṣya is not as comprehensive ~~are not as many~~, as we find in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and this is an indication of the swing towards popular divinities, especially, those connected with the cult of bhakti or devotion. A few Vedic ones are also noticed, like, Indra, Śakra, Purūhūta, and Puramdara, which were, no doubt, different names of one god (bahavo hi śabdā ekārthā bhavanti)[3]. The principal Vedic deities noticed are: Agni[4], Vāyu[5], Sūrya[6], ~~Viśvadeva~~[7], Rudra (Paśunā Rudram yajate)[7 8], Prajāpati, (eṣa vai saptadaśākṣaraś chandasyaḥ prajāpatir yajñam anuvihitaḥ)[8 9]. Marut (agnir vā ito vṛstim itte maruto 'mutaś cyavayantîti)[9 10], Aponaptṛ, Apāmnaptṛ, mentioned by Pāṇini also, in the same Sūtra (aponaptrapāmnaptrbhyām ghah), Varuṇa, Vāyu and Āditya (Indras

---

1. V. 2.38 p.125, L.21.
2. I. 1.49 p.119, L.21.
3. I. 2.45 p.220, L.1.
4. I. 1.1 p.1, L.5.
5. VI. 3.26 p.148, L.21.
6. II. 2.11 p.414, L.14.
7. ~~II. 2.35 p.437, L.10.~~
7 8. I. 4.32 p.331, L.3.
8 9. IV. 4.140 p.335, L.8.
9. 10. I. 3.1 p.256, L.13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

tvaṣṭā varuṇo vāyur āditya iti)[1], and Viṣṇu[2] who enjoyed a high position amongst the votaries of the Bhāgavata cult. There are also references to dual divinities, like Mitra and Varuṇa (Mitravaruṇau ijyamānaḥ)[3], Dyau and Pṛthivī (Dyāvāpṛthivī)[4] Agni and Soma (Agni somau)[5] and Vāyu-Varuṇa (Vāyu-Vāruṇam)[6].

POST-VEDIC DEITIES:- These include some vedic ones as well whose worship was continued in that period. A few names are synonymous. Indra with his other names, mentioned earlier, is praised a number of times for his killing the demon Vṛtra, and is styled Vṛtrahan[7]. Śiva and Viṣṇu were very popular with separate cults. The former is given other names like, Bhava, Śarva[8], Girīśa, (girau śete Girīśaḥ)[9], Mahādeva (Kakuddoṣaṇī yācate Mahādevaḥ)[10], and Trayambaka (Trayambakaṁ yajāmahe)[11]. These are some of the eight names of Śiva mentioned in the Atharvaveda[12]. Skanda (Kārttikeya) is also mentioned in association with Viśākha[13]. Patañjali seems to mention the synonyms of certain deities in the expression ~~The synonymous forms of the deities seem to have been given by Patañjali in~> ---

1. II. 2.29 p.431, L.5.
2. VI. 1.36 p.30, L.18.
3. VI. 1.108 p.82, L.2.
4. III. 2.107 p.114, L.21.
5. VIII. 3.82 p.445, L.19.
6. VI. 3.42 p.158, L.3.
7. I. 1.39 p.97, L.20.
8. III. 1.134 p.91, L.14.
9. III. 2.15 p.100, L.19.
10. VI. 1.63 p.41, L.20.
11. VI. 4.77 p.209, L.22.
12. VI. 93.2; VII. 87.1; XI. 2.1.4.
13. V. 3.99 p.429, L.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the expression - Brahmaprajāpatī śivavaiśravaṇau skandaviśākhau.[1] Kṛṣṇa[2] also figures prominently. The deities were supposed to possess infinite wisdom (devājñātum arhanti).[3] The gods of constellations - the sun and the moon were also venerated (ādityam upatiṣṭhate - candramasam upatiṣṭhate.[4] The Pauranic conception of heaven and hell (naraka),[5] the emergence of the Kaliyuga (kalirdevatāsya - kāleyaś caruḥ)[6] and the fight between the Devas and Asuras (devāsuram - rākṣo as suram)[7] was well-known. One also finds certain particular popular features like emphasis on charity which entitled one to a place in heaven (yo bhavatām odanam dāsyati sa svargam lokam gamiṣyati)[8] There is a reference to gods, called Nilimpā classed as super-natural beings (nilimpānāma devāḥ).[9] The images of these deities were worshipped by the people.

Certain female divinities mentioned are: ~~Gaurī~~,[10] another name of Pārvatī, wife of Śiva; Lakṣmī,[10] wife of Viṣṇu; ~~Kālī~~,[12] another name of Durgā, the goddess of Śakti;[11] and Suparṇī,[13]

---

1. VI. 3.26 p.148, Ll.23-24.
2. 1.1.4. p.53, L.9.
3. VIII. 3.72 p.443, L.23.
4. I. 3.25 p.281, L.6.
5. VI. 1.7 p.12, L.6.
6. IV. 2.7 p.273, L.12.
7. IV. 3.125 p.319, L.16.
8. III. 3.7 p.140, L.8.
9. III. 1.138 p.92, L.12.
10. ~~I. 1.19 p.72, L.18.~~
10. I. 4.3 p.313, L.17.
12. ~~IV. 1.3 p.200, L.19.~~
11. 13. IV. 1.44 p.206, L.22.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Patañjali, commenting on II.2.34, has ~~also~~ noticed, or probably composed a verse in which it is stated that certain musical instruments were played in a gathering in the temple of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava (mṛdaṅgaśaṅkhatūṇavāḥ pṛthan nandanti saṁsadi prāsāde dhanapatirāmakeśavānām)[1]. Rāma and Keśava are rightly identified with Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, and it is clear from this reference that there were festive gatherings at that time in their temples.

IMAGES:- Pāṇini ~~has~~ mentioned the term Pratikṛti[2], meaning portraits, but Patañjali ~~has~~ used the word arcā denoting images. The famous sūtra Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye, which has been the subject of so much discussion, is helpful on this point. These images were not saleable (apaṇya), but were kept in temples for the purpose of worship (yās tv etāh sampratipujārthāḥ tāsu bhaviṣyati), serving, incidently, as means of livelihood to their owners. The comment on this Sūtra questions the validity of the dropping of Ka in such forms as, Śivaḥ, Śkandaḥ and Viśākhaḥ, since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, sold objects of worship (Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitaḥ)[3]. It is important for two reasons: firstly, it testifies to the worship of these divinities in that period, and secondly, refers to the metal used for making

---

1. II. 2.34 p.436, L.5.
2. V. 3.36.
3. V. 3.99 p.429.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

these images. Kauṭilya has also referred to the installation of the images of Śiva and Vaiśravaṇa in temples (Śivavaiśravaṇāśviśrīmandirāgṛhaṁ ca purama dhye kārayet).[1] The Gaṇapāṭha cites the compound - Skanda - visākhau along with Brahmaprajāpatī, and Śivavaiśravaṇau.[2] According to the Bhāṣyakāra, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in loka (vartamāne punar dvandvagrahaṇasya etat prayojanaṁ lokavedayor yo dvandvas tatra yathā syāt na ca vede sahanirvāpā nirdistāh.[3]

The cult of the Yakṣas and Nāgas, with their female counterparts, whose statues have been found, is another phase in the study of popular divinities in that period. It is natural to presume that devotion or bhakti played an important part in the setting up of these images. As regards the antiquity of Skanda and Viśākha, they seem to be earlier than the time of Patañjali. According to D.R. Bhandarkar,[4] Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena were in olden days names of four different gods. He based his contention on the reference to Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena with separate figures on the coins of Huviṣka, and Amarsiṁha's allusion to only one of the four names in each of the four lines of his two verses

---

1. II. 4 p.55.
2. II. 4.14.
3. VI. 3.26 p.149, L.2.
4. Carmichael Lectures. 1921, pp.22-3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

relating to Kārttikeya. R.G. Bhandarkar[1] had suggested that the three names represented only one deity on Huviṣka's coins. The distinct individuality of the two divinities seems clear from the reference in the Mahābhāṣya, though the evidence is considered ~~indecisive~~ inconclusive by those who attach importance to the absence of Viśākha's name, as a deity, in early or later literature.[2]

BHAKTISM - Bhāgavata cult:- The feeling of devotion or attachment to a particular deity, recognising others as manifestations of the same, was not new to this period. Its existence can be traced in earlier literature. Pāṇini seems to refer to it in his reference to Vāsudeva and Arjuna in the Sūtra - Vāsudevārjunābhyām vuñ.[3] It is clear, as suggested in the Kāśikā, that Vāsudeva mentioned in this Sūtra was not a Kṣatriya name but that of Kṛṣṇa, and the person attached to him was known as Vāsudevaka (Vāsudevobhaktir asya Vāsudevakaḥ).[4] The propitiation of deities is implied in another Sūtra of Pāṇini which refers to the morphology of names, as Varuṇadatta and Āryamadatta; the ending datta denoted a benediction from a god, or a higher power of which the personal name became a symbolic expression (kārakādattaśrutayor-evāśisi).[5] It is,

---

1. Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism etc. p.151.
2. Cf. I.H.Q. Vol.VII. p.315.
3. IV. 3.98.
4. p.343.
5. VI. 2.148.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

therefore, presumed that the Bhakti cult dates back, at least, to the time of the Sūtra Kāra. R.G. Bhandarkar had suggested[1] two religious movements during the period of intellectual ferment: the one in the east, which believed in self-abnegation and a course of strict moral conduct; and the other connected with the Sātvatas in Western India which attached importance to devotion in a supreme God. The Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata traces the evolution of the second course. The supreme God is named Hari whose worship is not completely free from religious sacrifices. The next stage is marked by the association of Vāsudeva with his son, grandson, and brother, who became objects of veneration presiding over certain psychological categories, or as persons created by Him for the purpose. Patañjali has given some interesting information on this point.[2] Vāsudeva and Bāladeo are classed by him as derivatives from Vṛsni names in the sense of sons of Vasudeva and Baladeo. It is contended that the Sātvatas of the Mahābhārata was another name of the Vṛsni race to which Vāsudeva, Samkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha belonged. The religion of the Sātvatas, associated with Vāsudeva in the Mahābhārata, culminated in the time of Patañjali when other members, connected with Vāsudeva, were also revered. The life and activities of

---

1. Ref.cit. p.9 f.
2. V. 1.144 p.257, Ll.11-12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the supreme lord became objects of exhibition to the people in different ways. Patañjali, besides mentioning the names of Kṛṣṇa and Janārdana,[1] the synonyms of Vāsudeva, also referred to the festive gatherings in the temples of Keśava (Vāsudeva) and Rama (Balarāma).[2] The references to Vāsudevabhaktas, the staging of Balibandha - connected with Viṣṇu, and the slaying of Kaṁsa by Kṛṣṇa himself, are some of the additional proofs of the growing spirit of devotion to the Lord who was addressed by different names. There is a reference to the Vyūha of Kṛṣṇa and his acolytes (Janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva),[3] meaning Janārdhana, whose self is the fourth in a constituent group. The Vedic god Viṣṇu, later a synonym of Vāsudeva, is compounded with Indra in one reference,[4] and with Agni in another.[5] This need not mislead us in presuming distinct personalities of Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa. It is true that Viṣṇu, as a Vedic deity, was frequently invoked, though not placed in the foremost rank; but in the post-Vedic period he assumed the supreme place condescending to become incarnate for the emancipation of human beings. It may, therefore, be suggested that one stream of religious thought emanated from Viṣṇu, the Vedic god; the

---

1. VI. 3.5 p.143, L.7.
2. III. 1.26 p.34, L.16; p.36, L.19.
3. ~~Ref. 170~~. VI. 3.5 p.143 ff.
4. VI. 1.36 p.30, L.18.
5. VI. 3.28 p.149, L.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

other from Vāsudeva, the historic personality associated at first with the Sātvatas; and these two, mingling with another emerging from Nārāyaṇa, the cosmic and philosophic god, gave rise to the cult of Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva Bhaktism. The identification of Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu is ~~undeniable~~ established, and Keith referred[1] to it long ago. The evidence from the epigraphic and archaeological sources, is also helpful in assessing the nature and flourishing state of this cult which attracted even foreigners.

Amongst the epigraphic records of this period, the most important one is the Besnagar pillar inscription, which mentions the setting up of the Garuḍa Column (garuḍadhvaja) of Vāsudeva, the gods of gods (devādeva) by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, son of Dion and an inhabitant of Taxila who came as Greek Ambassador from King Antialkidas to Kāśīputra King Bhāgabhadra. A fragment of the shaft of another octagonal column, evidently from Besnagar, and found in a narrow street at Bhilsa, bears a Brāhmī inscription in one line recording the erection of the Garuḍa column of the excellent temple of the Bhagavat (Bhagavatah prāsādo)[2] by Gautamīputra, a Bhāgavata. These two records from Besnagar are Vaiṣṇavite in character, since Garuḍa appears as a Vāhana of Viṣṇu. According to the Mahābhārata, Garuḍa, in return for boons granted to him by Viṣṇu, himself offered a

---

1. J.R.A.S. 1908 p.169 f.
2. A.S. 1. An. Rep. 1913-4 Pt.II. p.190.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

boon to Him who made the bird his vehicle.[1]

The next inscription[2] is the Ghasundī Stone slab found about 4 miles North-East of Nāgarī in the Udaipur State (Rājasthān). It is engraved in Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C., and records the erection of a stone enclosure of worship for Bhagavat Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, within the enclosure of Nārāyaṇa, by Bhāgavata Cajāyana, son of Parāśari. The Nārāyaṇa Vaṭa, or the enclosure of the Lord, denotes the compound of a temple or place of worship, while Pūjāśilāprākāra stands for Bhāgavat Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva - evidently referring to a smaller stone enclosure, probably, round the images representing Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva within the Nārāyanavaṭa. The cosmic philosophic god Nārāyaṇa, whose name is not traced in the Mahābhāṣya, thus completes the triveṇī, or the three streams of thought mingling together to form the cult of Vaiṣṇavism.

Now, ~~on the relation~~ as regards of Saṁkarṣaṇa with Vāsudeva, the Nānāghāt cave inscription[3] mentions them as the descendants of the moon (Caṁda-Candra) along with Dhamma (Dharma), Ida (Indra), and the guardians of the four cardinal points: Yama, Varuna, Kubera and Vāsudeva. R.P. Chanda, quoting the Nārāyāṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, and Śaṁkara's commentary on the

---

1. I. L.1510.
2. Lüders List - E.I. Vol.X. Appendix No.6.
3. Ibid., No.1112.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Vedanta-Sūtras suggested[1] that these two of the forms (Vyūhas) were worshipped by the Pañcarātras or Bhāgavatas. The Vyūhas were Vāsudeva, or the highest self, Saṁkarṣaṇa, or the individual soul, Pradyumna or the mind (manas), and Aniruddha or the principle of egoity (ahaṁkāra) in descending order, and according to the orthodox view, the highest Brahman called Vāsudeva abides in a four-fold form, or reveals itself by dividing its four-fold as the four vyūhas. In all these expositions, Vāsudeva is mentioned first, followed by Saṁkarṣaṇa. In this inscription the order is reversed, and it is presumed that in those days Saṁkarṣaṇa was popularly recognised as a divinity equalling Vāsudeva in rank. Kauṭilya has also mentioned[2] this god. R.P. Chanda, therefore, suggested two forms of Vāsudevism - the worship of Vāsudeva, as "the god of gods," and also as a god second to Saṁkarṣaṇa, in the second century B.C. thereby, indicating that the basic cult originated at a much earlier period.

Another record is the Morā stone slab inscription[3] of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rājuvula. Though it is placed about the early part of the first century A.D., its importance lies here in the second line beginning with - Bhagavatā vr(ṣ)ṇe(na) Pañcaṁ vīrānāṁ pratimā. If Bhagvatā vṛṣṇena is construed as Bhagavato vṛṣṇeḥ, as suggested by Chanda,[4] then it may refer

1. Archaeology and Vaisnava tradition p.164.
2. p.403.
3. Lüders List - Ref.cit. No.
4. Ref.cit. p.166.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to the setting up of an image of the blessed or the divine Vṛṣṇi, that is Kṛṣṇa - Vāsudeva, who belonged to the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Yādava race (Vṛṣṇīnām Vāsudevo 'smi).[1] A Mathurā inscription[2] of the time of the great Kṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, son of Rājuvula also refers to the Shrine of the Bhagavat Vāsudeva (Bhagava(to Vāsude)vasya mahāsthāna).

Now the association of Vāsudeva with Baladeo and the Vṛṣṇis is also noted by Patañjali (Vāsudevaḥ - Bāladevaḥ - ṇyasya sa eva - viṣvakseno nāma vṛṣnis tasmād ubhayam prāpnoti).[3] On the basis of the literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources, the following conclusions may be drawn - Firstly, the Bhāgavata cult is not new to this period, but dates back, at least, to the time of Pāṇini. Secondly, Viṣṇu, the Vedic deity, was identified with Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa - a general name Vāsudeva - Bhāgavata cult denoted Vaiṣṇavism. Thirdly, both Balarāma and Vāsudeva, who were historical personalities associated with the Vṛṣṇis, had attained divine status, with their images ~~set~~ consecrated in temples where there were festive gatherings. Fourthly, the Vyūhas of Vāsudeva also found a place in the divine pantheon. It is clear that Saṁkarṣaṇa enjoyed a divine position along with Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. Thus, what was supposed to be a localized religious

---

1. Bhag. Gita. Chap.X. 37.
2. Lüders List - Ref.cit.
3. IV. 1.114 p.257. Ll.11-12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

stream of thought, gradually expanded in the eastern and southernly directions. This cult, a synthesis of different religious thoughts, also attracted foreigners.

ŚAIVISM:- There are two references in the Mahābhāṣya which suggest a separate cult of the Śaivas, the devotees of Śiva: Śiva-bhāgavata[1] and Śiva-vaiśravaṇau.[2] The first refers to the devotees of Śiva who carried an iron lance, as the emblem of that deity (yo 'yaḥ śūlena anvicchati sa āyaḥ-śūlikaḥ kiṁ cātaḥ śiva-bhāgavate prāpnoti).[3] It is suggested that, despite the inapplicability of the word āyaḥ-śūlika in its literal sense to Śiva-bhāgavata, the meaning, 'one who took recourse to extreme harsh or rash measures to seek an end, which could be secured by milder methods', alludes to the existence of this cult, whose members used an iron spear as a distinctive mark. One, however, feels that the two classes of Śiva devotees have to be distinguished - the Āyaḥ-Śūlikas carried an iron trident or triśūla and practised penance and other dhūta rites; but there were lay devotees who propitiated the benign deity through their offerings. A sentence in the comment on the Sūtra jīvakārthe Cāpanye refers to the arcā or image of Śiva which was placed in front for the purpose of worship (yās tv etāḥ samprati pūjārthās tāsu bhavisyati).[4]

---

1. V. 2.76 p.387, L.19.
2. VI. 3.26 p.148, L.23.
3. Cf. I. 4. Vol.XLI. p.272.
4. V. 3.99 p.429, L.4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Linga worship had not come into form by that time. Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were adored by many people, and their images were a source of living to their keepers. The evidence advanced by the Atharva Śirasa Upaniṣad and the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata, on the position of Śiva as a divinity, and the different branches or offshoots of Saivism, is valuable. The former designates him as a Bhagavat, while the latter refers to Pāśupata, as one of the five schools of religious doctrines which had revelations from Śiva-Śrī Kaṇṭha. This school, according to R.G. Bhandarkar,[1] rose about the second century B.C., but it is not mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya. One can hardly deny that Śaivism, as a separate cult, existed earlier than the time of Patañjali in the light of Megasthenes' reference[2] to the cults of Dionysus and Heracles, and the evidence furnished by the Mahābhārata on this point, but it is difficult to assert or even suggest the different schools into which it had branched off in that period. To be more precise, it can be suggested, rather safely, that the votaries of Śiva included those who took recourse to harsh and rash measures for seeking their end, as well as ordinary lay worshippers who believed in propitiation through devotion.

ASCETIC ORDERS:- Groups of wandering mendicants, or

---

1. Ref.cit. p.116.
2. Cf. C.H. I. Vol.I. p.408.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

those living in solitary meditation were not unknown. Patañjali tried[1] to explain their philosophy which upheld inaction, and their creed was different from that of the Brahmanic or Śramaṇa religious groups. The practice of asceticism served to reveal supreme wisdom (tapas tāpasaṁ sedhayati).[2] The ascetics were noted for their matted hair (jaṭā),[3] beard (śmaśru), and the use of a water-pot (kamaṇḍalu). The staffs (daṇḍa) varied according to the groups - as for instance, the Parivrājaka had three staves (triviṣṭabdhakaṁ dṛṣṭvā parivrājaka iti),[4] but a Daṇḍin has a single kṣatra. The Parivrājakas are also mentioned by Pāṇini in his Sūtra - Maskaramaskariṇau Veṇuparivrājakayoḥ.[5] This ascetic order included a Maskarin, and it is suggested by Patañjali in his comment that a Maskarin Parivrājaka was so called, not because of his maskara - the bamboo staff (na vai maskaro 'syāstīti maskari parivrājaka), but for his doctrine of inactivity seeking peace as the highest end (mā kṛta karmāṇi mā kṛta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyas ity āhāto maskarī parivrājakaḥ).[6] This policy was endorsed by the Ājīvikas who believed in quietism. According to the Buddhist literature,[7] the Ājīvikas recognized only three as their leaders

---

1. VI. 1.49 p.38, L.7.
2. VI. 1.48 p.37, L.20.
3. II. 3.4 p.445, L.7.
4. II. 1.1 p.365, L.21.
5. VI. 1.154.
6. Ibid., p.96, Ll.12-13.
7. Maj. i.524; Vin i.291.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

- Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca, and Makkhali Gosāla. Their precept nātthi Kammam nātthi Kiriyam nātthi Viriyam, also set forth at greater length in the Sāmaññaphala sutta of the Dīghanikāya,[1] suggests that the attainment of a given condition of any character does not depend either on one's own acts, or on those of another, or on human effort. There is no such thing as power, or energy, strength or human vigour.[2] The identification of Maskarins with the Ājīvikas is fairly certain, and it is confirmed by the fact that Gosāla, the last of the leaders, is called Makkhali - the Pālī form of Sanskrit Maskarin in Pālī literature. A late work, quoted by D.R. Bhandarkar,[3] also ~~points out~~ suggests the identity of the Ājīvikas with the Maskarins, and it is ~~suggested~~ proposed on the basis of the reference to the word śikhin of the Bhaṭṭikāvya, agreeing with the Uttuṅgajatā of the Jānakiharaṇa, that an Ājīvika was really a tridaṇḍin, and not an ekadaṇḍin, as supposed by Utpala. The tridaṇḍin Parivrājaka, mentioned by Patañjali, may be taken as an Ājīvika in the general sense. It is probable that the Bhāṣyakāra, while referring to the Parivrājakas as identical with Maskarins, had in mind the system of the Ājīvikas who had lately received benefactions of caves at Nāgārjunī from Emperor Daśaratha of the Mauryan dynasty.[4]

---

1. i,53-54.
2. Cf. Rhys Davids: Dial. Vol.I. p.71.f.
3. I.A. Vol.XLI. 1912 p.290.
4. C.I.I. Vol.I. pp.103-4; 134-5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

They are not ~~referred to~~ noticed separately. The group also included female ascetics (śaṅkarā nāmaparivrājakā).[1][2]

The Daṇḍins, with a single staff, formed a separate group dating back to the period of the Brāhmaṇas[3] and mentioned by Pāṇini[4] and Manu[5], besides Patañjali. Manu ~~has~~ actually described[1] their appearance. The Daiṣṭikas (diṣṭām ity asya matir daiṣṭikaḥ,[6] mentioned in analogy to the other two terms - āstika and nāstika, ~~seem to belong~~ probably belonged to the school of Makkhali which repudiated karman as the means of attaining one's end.

The Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas had separate orders, in constant opposition to the other (yeṣām ca virodha ity asya avakāśaḥ).[7] The term śramaṇa included all non-Brahmanical orders. The earliest reference to this clear-cut division is given by Megasthenes, who mentioned[8] Brachmanes or the Brāhmaṇas and Garmanes viz. Śramaṇas. The distinction is maintained in Aśokan inscriptions as well. According to the Udāna, there were various sects of Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas - followers of different Ditthis, that is, systems of Darśanas, and having separate organizations (sambahulā nānātitthiyā samaṇabrāhmaṇā-paribbājakā sāvatthim pindāya pavisanti nānāditthikā nānā-khantikā nānārucikā nānāditthinissayanissitā).[9] The two

---

1. III. 2.14 p.100, L.6.
2. V. 2.94 p.393, L.19.
3. Cf. Sat.Brah. XIII. 4.2.15.
4. V. 2.115.
5. VI. 52. Klṛpta keśanakhaśmaśruḥ pātrī daṇḍī kusumbhavān
   vidvaren niyato nityam sarvabhūtāny apīḍayan
6. IV. 4.60 p.332, L.19.
7. II. 4.12 p.476, L.9.
8. Frag. XLI - Strabo XV.i.59.
9. P.T.S. 1885 p.66.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

classes of ascetics, called Parivrājakas, or the wandering class, have been mentioned in the Buddhist literature[1] under two main headings - the Brahmanas and the Aññatitthiyas. It seems that the word śramana, mentioned by Patañjali, denoted ascetic orders distinct from those of the Brāhmaṇas, though its use may have been restricted to Buddhists alone during certain times. The Bhāsyakāra has not mentioned śramaṇī - Pāli - samaṇī - the female ascetics who are referred to in the Samyutta Nikāya.[2] The practice of initiating ladies was forbidden, except at the Vānaprastha stage along with their husbands (striyām ca pravrājayatah),[3] but things were different in the sramana orders - both Buddhist and Jains. The word śramaṇa is explained in the Kāśikā[4], as one who had forsaken her home (kula atā), though it can, as well, suggest 'an unchaste woman'. This really explains the feeling against ladies joining an ascetic order in the prime of their youth.

POPULAR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS:- The key note of Indian religious belief has been the emphasis laid on the spiritual and moral side of human life, with the result that people have always been anxious to perform good deeds. This spirit prompted them to create dedications for some sacred purpose.

---

1. Ang. I. 65,240; Dig. III. 115.
2. I. 333. Cf. also. Jat V.424; Vin IV. 235.
3. Cf. Kauṭilya II. 1.
4. p.96.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The endowments at Bhārhut, and on the railing at Sāñchi, which were made in this period, are exclusively Buddhist; but one finds a peculiar phenomenon which was first pointed out by Bühler, and later considered afresh by Sir John Marshall. Bühler referred[1] to the existence of Pauranic worship at the time when these records were inscribed. Names like Arhadatta Dharmarakhita, Bodhi, and Saṁgharakhita, are Buddhist; Agideva and Viśvadeva relate to ancient Vedic worship, ~~while~~ and the prevalence of Nāga cult, Vaiṣṇavism, and Śaivism ~~seems clear~~ is evident from names like, Nāga, Nāgila, and Nāgadatta; Viṇhuka and Opedadatta; and Nādiguta, Samikā and Śivanandi respectively. Sir John Marshall ~~referred~~ points[2] to the Yakṣa cult, evidently on the basis of names such as, Yakhadāsī, Yakhadina, Yakhī and Yakhila. The presence of these folk cults in the second century B.C., is proved by the Yakṣa and Yakṣī figures on the balustrade of the Bhārahut stūpa. In case the donors ~~by virtue of the affixes to their names, or, as suggested by Bühler, testify to the existence of Pauranic worship,~~ were interested in the Pauranic worship, then how are they associated with Buddhist dedications? Did Buddha have a place in the Brahmanical pantheon, or was he adored by the worshippers of the demi-gods, or ~~were~~ did the people ~~eclectic by nature~~ believe in eclecticism? The answer to the questions is quite simple. It is probable that the donors were all

---

1. E.I. Vol.II. p.95.
2. The Monuments of Sāñchi, p.299.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Buddhists, and the use of these affixes is not a sure proof of the existence of these cults; but one may take a broader view and ~~assume~~ presume that the ordinary people in that period were anxious to obtain merit from whatever quarter, and through whatever process it was available. Therefore, these donors did not hesitate to make endowments for Buddhism, because they thought that by so doing they could acquire merit in the next world. This catholic outlook of a Hindu, even at present, prompts him to visit the Bodh-Gayā temple and give dakṣiṇā when he visits Gayā for performing Pitṛ oblations.

People also worshipped the lower order of divine beings - the Yakṣas and the Nāgas - for fear of their destructive powers, and a desire to obtain boons from them. This is evident from numerous statues of such demi-gods which have been found with inscriptions recorded on them, and their figures carved on the Bhārhut gateway and those at Sāñchī. According to Coomara-Swamy,[1] Yakṣa worship was a bhakti cult, with images, temples, altars and offerings, and as the greater deities of all, from a popular point of view, be regarded as Yakṣas, we may safely recognize in the worship of the latter (together with Nāgas and goddesses) the natural source of the Bhakti cult, common to the whole sectarian development, which was taking place before the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period. This shows that the

---

1. Yakṣas, p.37.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

people at that time were not exclusively sectarian in their ~~form of~~ outlook. worship. The Hindu Ethics enjoined upon every householder certain moral and spiritual obligations and he was supposed to have certain qualities like śraddhā[1] and tyāga[2] - faith and a spirit of sacrifice, which are classed as dharmaniyamas (dharmāya niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ - dharmārtho vā niyamo dharmaniyamaḥ[3]) - meaning a restriction for the sake of religious merit as its result, or with religious merit as its object. The popular belief in ethical and moral responsibilities was deep-rooted in the masses.

BUDDHISM:- Popular religion of which the fabric was woven out of cults and traces, as pointed out by Sir John Marshall[4], did not leave the Buddhist religion unaffected. The sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī furnish numerous illustrations of sacred objects and divinities, drawn from the ancient religions of the people, ~~and~~, though the names ~~may~~ might have been ~~transformed~~ changed, the cults remained immutable. Such cults were taken over by Buddhism from the popular religion of the masses, and for the masses. The icon of the Buddha had not yet come into existence, but the relic worship had acquired a significant and important place in the Buddhist form of worship. As parts of the body of the Lord, they served to

---

1. I. 4.59 p.341, L.23.
2. III. 1.26 p.34, L.5.
3. I. 1.1 p.8, Ll.4-5.
4. Op. Ref. cit. ~~p.254, No.396~~ .p.24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

create in the mind of the devotee a feeling of personal devotion and allegiance. It was not only the Tathāgata, but even some of his important disciples like Sāriputra and Moggallāna who claimed the privilege of their relics being enshrined in stūpas. This stage, probably, reached in the Śuṅga Period. As regards the anti-Buddhist attitude of the first Śuṅga monarch, Sir John Marshall has hinted at the probable destruction of the earlier Sāñchī Stūpa by this ruler, but we would like to leave the matter open without any comment. It is, however, clear that Buddhism was not inactive in this period. In an inscription[1] on the railing on the Sāñchī Stūpa, there is a reference to ācariyakula - a technical expression, meaning 'a Buddhist school', and annācariyakula - 'the other school'. It refers to an injunction against the removal of any property from Kākanāda to a non-Theravādin community, thereby suggesting that another school, probably of the Mahā-Sāṅghikas, had established itself at Sāñchi in the first century B.C. The conservative school of the Theravadins became apprehensive of the dismemberment of their sacred edifice.

According to Kern,[2] in the three centuries which elapsed between the death of Aśoka and the reign of Kaniṣka, Buddhism was steadily on the increase in the North, flourishing in the domains of the Bactrian Greeks. The chronology based on

---

2. Manual of Buddhism, p.48.
1. J.B.O.R.S.Vol.III. p.425 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

literary documents being confused, it is unsafe to deduce any historical fact from traditions. It is a pity that, except for the clear cut evidence regarding the active state of Buddhism from the monuments and the epigraphic sources, literary proof is wanting.

JAINISM:- The Hāthigumphā inscription,[1] and a few others from Mathura[2] record dedications for Jainism. The invocation of the formulae (Namo arihamtānam namo Savasiddhānam), the contents of the Kaliṅga record, and other old Brāhmī inscriptions disclose the activity of this religious order. It enjoyed the patronage of King Khāravela and other donors. Inscription No.11 of Kharavyela's chief queen records that the cave commemorating her name was cut for the sake of Kaliṅga recluses of Arhata persuation (Arhamta-pasādānam Kaliṅgānam Samanānam). During the thirteen years of Khāravela's reign, some 117 caves were excavated on the Kumārī hill to serve as resting places for the Arhats, or Jains residing there (Arhato parinivāsato hi kāya-nisīdiyāya).[3] Besides, Kaliṅga, Mathurā was also an important centre of Jainism. Amongst the inscriptions, found and edited by Bühler, the earliest has been assigned by him to the middle of the second century B.C. because of its exceedingly archaic characters and its language - pure Prākrit of the Pālī

---

1. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.III. p.425 f.
2. cf. D.R. Bhandarkar Volume p.279 f.
3. Barua :- old Brāhmi Inscriptions p.28.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

type.[1] This inscription records dedication of an ornamental arch for the temple, the gift of the lay hearer Utaradasaka (Uttaradāsaka), son of Vacchī (Vatsī), mother and disciple of the ascetic Mahārakhita (Mahārakṣita). The Āmohiṇī tablet inscription, dated in the year 42 of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa is another Jain record of about 15 B.C. or 15 A.D. Lüders, while discussing the era of the Mahārāja and Rājātirāja, considered the Girdharpur and Lucknow Museum inscriptions of the years 270 and 292 (or 299) respectively. He presumed that the donors were Parthians who had immigrated to Mathurā during the rule of the Kṣatrapas, and, despite their joining the Jain fold, they upheld the traditions of their native country.[2] It is an important phase of Jainism which suggests the assimilation of foreigners in their religious order.

LOKĀYĀTAS or MATERIALISTS:- The Lokāyatas were not unknown in that period. Patañjali has referred to Bhāguri as a famous exponent of this school who provided specimens of the Lokāyata doctrine according to his views (varṇikā Bhāguri Lokāyatasya), or way of life (vartikā Bhāguri lokāyatasya).[3] The name of the founder of this school - Cārvāka is not mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, but his philosophy was well-known. According to a legend in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,[4] Bṛhaspati

---

1. E.I. Vol.II. p.199, No.1.
2. ~~Ref. 227, p.288.~~ D.R. Bhandarkar Volume p. 288
3. VII. 3.45 p.325, L.24.
4. VII. 8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

taught demons false knowledge of which the reward lasts only so long as the pleasure exists, in order to hasten their destruction. In the Ukthādigaṇa of the Aṣṭādhyāyī,[1] a teacher and a pupil of this doctrine are called Lokāyatika. The system is referred to in the Arthaśāstra[2] (saṁvaraṇamātraṁ hi trayī lokayatrāvida iti), and much earlier in a Jāṭaka.[3] A short account of this system is also given in the Prabodha-Candrodaya. In the Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha, a very late work, the system is examined from the Vedantist standpoint, and Mādhava looks upon their philosophy as the lowest of all, but not to be ignored.

We have taken into account the religious consition of India during the time of Patañjali in all its aspects. One can hardly deny that with the advent of the Brahmanical Śuṅga ruler to power, there was a revival of Vedic sacrifices with greater enthusiasm, and the emperor himself performed two horse sacrifices. If the statement of Patañjali relating to the performance of sacrifice for Puṣyamitra be taken at its face value, then the Bhaṣyakara probably officiated as a priest in any one of these two sacrifices. The other Vedic Yajñas were: Agniṣṭoma, Rājasuya, Vājapeya, and the Yūpa in which the sacrificial pillars of wood were set up. The householder had

---

1. IV. 2.60.
2. p.6.
3. VI. 286.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to perform the Pañca-mahāyajñas, and the Śrāddhas for the manes. The Vedic sacrifices, varying in duration and involving many accessories, were costly and complicated for ordinary people who were satisfied with devotion through propitiation. The Bhakti cult - confined to Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva, and Śiva was not new. The former was more popular and there were festive gatherings, as well as dramatic performances showing the life and activities of the Lord in his previous incarnations. The epigraphic and archaeological pieces of evidence corroborate the popularity of this cult. The ascetic orders of the Parivrājakas, and the Maskarins, evidently Ājīvikas; the Daṇḍins and the Daiṣṭi, and those of the Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas, and the presence of the materialists - the Lokāyatikas, show an interesting aspect of religious life. People had not shaken off the worship of the demi-gods - the Yakṣas and Nāgas with their female counter-parts for fear and faith in them. An interesting study is the moral and ethical side of religious life, which manifested itself in the creation of dedications for Buddhism, though the names of the donors suggest a different faith. Buddhism and Jainism were not inactive, and the latter seems to be more liberal in its attitude towards outsiders, if the two inscriptions, quoted by Lüders, have any socio-religious value.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERATURE.

The importance of the Mahābhāṣya lies not merely in its attempt to elucidate with comments the Sūtras of Pāṇini taking into consideration the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, but also in the information it provides on the literature known to Patañjali, his use of the earlier data, and the ornate metres in poetry. some of which were new. The Bhāṣyakāra, was himself well versed in the Vedic, Sūtra and Smṛti literature; and one can trace parallelism in his work. There are also references to characters from the Epics, the Purāṇas, poetics or Kāvya with systematic use of metres, ornamentation (alaṁkara), drama and dramatic literature, and popular fiction, known as ākhyāna. The grammarian also presents philosophical data in his work, and other topics, not mentioned in the previous chapters, as for example, Medicine, Polity and Administration, Natural science including Biology. It is natural to presume from these references that there was some literature on these subjects, with which Patañjali was familiar. As a literary piece, the Mahābhāṣya presents a style of its own, which has little room for extraneous ornamentation, and a clear comprehension is attainable with a patient study of perspicuity and clarity are attained only after wading through

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the gloss~~, with patience.~~ In this chapter, we propose ~~to~~ consider~~ in detail all~~ these aspects in detail.

VEDIC LITERATURE AND THE MAHABHAṢYA:- Besides a number of verses, given in parts[1] in the Mahābhāṣya which are quoted from the Vedic literature, Patañjali ~~has~~ actually mentioned five verses in full, which are taken from the Ṛgveda and are also adduced in later Vedic literature. The most important is the one which Sāyaṇa, in conformity with the opinion of Yāska and others, applies to Agni, identified either with Yajña or with Āditya. "Four are his horns, three are the feet that bear him; his heads are two, his hands are seven in number. Round with a triple bond the steer roars loudly; the Mighty God hath entered into mortals."[2] Mahīdhara's explanation of the verse differs from that of Sāyaṇa, and the four horns are priests; or nouns, verbs, prepositions and the indeclinables; the three feet are the Vedas, or the first, second and third persons, or the past, present and future tenses; the two heads are two sacrifices, or the agent and

---

1. Cf. (i) jarbharī turpharītū - II. 1.1 p.363, L.25 = R.V. X. 106.6;
(ii) ojāyamānaṁ yo 'hiṁ jaghāna - III. 1.11 p.21, L.4 = R.V. II. 12.11.
(iii) Marudbhir agna āgahi - VI. 4.22 p.189, L.2 = R.V. I. 19.1.
(iv) nābhā pṛthivyā nihito davidyutat - V. 4.47 p.437, L.11 - A.V. VII. 621.

2. catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādādvo śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyāṁ āviveśeti
Mah I. 1.1 p.3, L1.15-16; R.V.IV.58.3. V.S. 17.91; Mait.Sam.I.6.29,87.17.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the object; the seven hands are the metres or the cases of the noun; and the three bonds are the three daily sacrifices, or the singular, dual and plural number.[1] A little modification can be suggested in the grammatical interpretation, as probably presumed by Patañjali, namely, the two heads represent two kinds of words - eternal (nitya) and resultant (kārya) which are mentioned in the Mahābhāsya.[2] "Bound in three parts" i.e. bound in three places, namely, chest, throat and head. Vṛsabha (the Bull), (comes from the root √vṛsa - to shower - to fulfil desire), roravīti - or makes sound. The Great god, entering the mortals is the Śabda-Brahman. This raises the question of the doctrine of sphoṭa which finally identifies sound with Brahman itself. This is not the solitary verse from the Ṛgveda which has been quoted to stress the need for the study of grammar, but there is another interesting one[3] which is also taken from the Ṛgveda. It is a praise to the glorious god Varuṇa, across whose palate the seven rivers keep pouring as a fair-flowing (stream) into an abyss. According to Sāyaṇa's[4] metaphysical explanation of

---

1. Ref. Wilson: Ṛg Veda Samhitā Vol.III. p.227 n.1; also Griffiths - trans. Vol.I. p.462.
2. I. 1.1 p.6, L.27; IV. 4.1 p.329, L.4.
3. Sudevo asi Varuṇa yasya te sapta sindhavah
   anukṣaranti Kākudam sūrmyam suṣirām iva
   Mah.1.1.1 p.4, Ll.27-28. R.V.VIII. 69.12.
4. Ref. Wilson - Ref.cit. Vol.V. p.126, n.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the last words - Sūrmyaṁ suṣirām iva - they are quoted as applied by the grammarians to enforce the need of studying grammar, the seven rivers being taken to mean the seven declensional affixes. These two verses are quoted by Patañjali in his Introduction with a view to impress on the minds of his readers that the study of grammar is absolutely necessary, which he has all along stressed; and it is like the performance of a sacrifice. The stamp of Vedic sanctity was supposed to enhance the value of the subject matter of study, which could enable a person to have union with the Great God; and Shine in truth (śobhanām ūrmim suṣirām agnir antaḥ).[1]

Explaining the division of words - viz. the division of speech into four, three of which are not manifested, he has quoted another verse[2] from the Rg Veda. 'Speech hath been measured out in four divisions, the Brāhmaṇas who have understanding know them. Three kept in close concealment cause no motion; of speech, men speak only the fourth division.' According to Sāyaṇa, the Brāhmaṇas here are those acquainted with śabda-brahman. The explanation of this mystical piece is different; and according to the grammatical interpretation of catvāri vākparimitā padāni - the four parts of speech are

---

1. Mah. p.5, L.2.
2. Catvāri vākparimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣinaḥ guhā trīṇi nihitā neṅgayanti turīyam vāco manuṣyā vadanti Mah. 1.1.1 p.3, LL.24-25; R.V.I. 164.45. A.V. IX. 10.27

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

nouns, verbs, prepositions and participles.[1]

The fourth form of speech (catvāri) is explained, according to some one else (uta tvah) as - "one (man) indeed seeing speech has not seen her; another (man) hearing her has not heard her; but to another she delivers her person as a loving wife well-attired presents herself to her husband.[2] Patañjali, quoting this verse from the Ṛg-Veda, has further elucidated it in his comment. Like a well-dressed wife desiring her husband's company, dressed in fair attire, discloses her person (to him), so speech reveals itself to one learned in speech (a grammarian). This verse is equally important from the metaphorical point of view which one also notices in another verse[3] quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra from the Ṛg-Veda. "When the wise create speech through wisdom winnowing (sieving) it as (men winnow) barley with a sieve, then friends know friendship; good fortune is placed upon their word." The wise men, as explained by Patañjali, in their purified speech, sieve out corrupt words. From these verses, quoted in full, one draws the conclusion that Patañjali was not only well-grounded in the Vedas, but he

---

1. Wilson: Ref.cit. Vol.II. p.142; Muir: Samskrit texts Vol.II. p.155.
2. uta tvah paśyan na dadarśa vācam uta tvah śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām
uto tv asmai tanvam vī-sasre jāyeva patya uśati suvāsāh
Mah. I.1.1 p.4,Ll.2-3; R.V. X.71.4.
3. saktum iva titaünā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata
atrā sakhāyah sakhyāni jānate bhadraisām lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci
Mah. I.1.1 p.4, Ll.10-11; R.V. X.71.2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

fully utilized his Vedic knowledge in the service of grammar - and tried to explain the mysterious meaning of some of the verses, quoted by him, in terms of grammatical values.

The influence of the later Vedic literature, is not much on the Mahābhāsya. Patañjali has no doubt quoted the Vedic recensions which is nothing unusual for a scholar like him. He, however, refers to the Yājñavalkya and Saulabha Brāhmaṇas (yājñavalkyāni Brāhmaṇāni - Saulabhāni).[1] They were not early texts because of the inapplicability of the Sūtra - Chando-brāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāni (IV.2.66) which suggests that the affixes denoting the anouncer, when added to the Chandas and the Brāhmaṇas express that relation only in the case of the two Brāhmaṇas stated above (yājñavalkyādibhyaḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ). The reference to different works in the Sūtra literature, like the Vārttika Sūtra, Saṁgraha Sūtra and Kalpa Sūtra[2] in the Mahābhāsya only implies his familiarity with these works as with many Kalpas[3] - Parāśara, Kāśyapa, Paiṅgi, Kuśika and Mahāvārttika, which have been mentioned earlier.

PATAÑJALI AND SMRTI LITERATURE:- There are, however, a few passages in the Mahābhāsya, which can also be traced in the Dharma Sūtras and the Smṛtis.[4] According to P.C. Chakravarty,

---

1. IV. 2.66 p.285, L.22.
2. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.4.
3. IV. 2.66 p.286, Ll.5-7.
4. I.H.Q. Vol.II. p.276 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

"Patañjali has given unmistakable proof of his respectable knowledge of the Dharma Śāstras current in his time and numerous references to the Smrti texts indicate that he made a careful study of Dharma Sūtras, such as those of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Gotama. He sometimes quotes verbatim passages from the texts, and sometimes gives the substance." On the other hand A. Ghosh[1] has pointed out that there is hardly any passage in the Mahābhāsya from which we can definitely say that Patanjali borrowed from any of our present texts. His references to the Viṣṇu Smṛti is very meagre and casual, and we can be certain that he shows no acquaintance with that text. Of the rest, Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gotama, Vasiṣtha and Manu, nothing can be said except with the greatest diffidence. We may, however, consider the subject afresh taking into consideration the probable parallel references. It is ~~just~~ possible that there might have been a common source. The passages supposed to have been taken from these texts, relate to the definitions of Āryāvarta,[2] Śistas[3] whose custom and behaviour

---

1. Ibid., Vol.XI. p.77 f.
2. (a) kah punar Āryāvartah - Prāg ādarsāt pratyak kālakavanād daksinena himavantam uttarena Pāriyātram
Mah. VI. 3.109 p.174, Ll.7-8.

(b) Prāg adarśanāt pratyak kālakavanād daksinena himavantam udak pāriyātram etad Āryāvartam tasmin ca ācāras sa pramānam
Baud. I. 2.10.

(c) i. Āryāvartah Prāg ādarśāt pratyak kālakavanād udak-Pāriyātrād daksinena himavatah uttarena ca vindhyasya
Vas. I. 8-9.

ii. Gangāyamunayor antare 'py eke - yāvad va krsnamrgo vicarati tāvad brahmavarcasam ity anye
Vas. I. 12-13.

3. (...)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is to be followed as a model, certain rules of etiquette and social conduct, like voiding at a distance from one's house[1] abstinence from drink for a Brāhmaṇī,[2] greeting a lady,[3] and a youth taking airs before an old man,[4] which are noticed in the Smṛti texts, though with slight variations.

Regarding the definition of Āryā-Varta, with particular reference to its boundaries, there seems unanimity of expression

---

3. from previous page.

(a) i. ke punaḥ śiṣṭāḥ - vaiyākaraṇāḥ - kuta etat - śāstrapūrivikā hi śiṣṭir vaiyākaraṇās ca śāstrajñāḥ - yadi tarhi śāstrapūrvikā śiṣṭih śiṣṭipūrvakaṁ ca śāstraṁ tad itaretarāśrayam bhavati - itaretaraśrayāṇi ca na prakalpante evaṁ tarhi nivāsata ācāratas ca - sa ca ācāra āryāvarta eva.

Mah. VI. 3.109 p.174,

ii. etasmin āryanivāse ye Brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhanyā alolupā agṛhyamāṇakāraṇaḥ kiṁcid antareṇa kasyaścid vidyāyāḥ pāragās tatra bhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ

Ibid. Ll.8-11.

(b) śiṣṭā khalu vigatamatsarāḥ nirahaṁkārāḥ kumbhī - dhānyā alolupā dambhadarpalobhamohakrodha - vivarjitāḥ

Baudh. I. 5.

pāramparyagato yeṣāṁ vedaḥ saparibṛṁhaṇaḥ te śiṣṭā brāhmaṇā jñeyāḥ śrutipratyakṣa hetavaḥ

Vas. VI. 43.

1. dūrād āvasathān mūtram dūrāt pādāv asecanam dūrāc ca bhāvyam dasyubhyo dūrāc ca kupitād guroḥ

Mah. II. 3.35 p.457, Ll.22-23.

2. Yā Brāhmaṇī surāpī bhavati nainām devāḥ patilokaṁ nayanti

Mah. III. 2.8 p.99, L.7.

3. kāmam teṣu tu viproṣya strīṣv iva ayam aham vadet

Mah. I. 1.1 p.3, L.8.

4. ūrdhvam prāṇā hy utkrāmanti yūnaḥ sthavira āyati pratyutthānābhivādābhyām punas tān pratipadyata iti.

Mah. VI. 1.84 p.58, Ll.8-9.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

between Baudhāyana and Patañjali, except that Baudhāyana substitutes the word Vinaśana for Ādarśa. According to Vasiṣṭha, Āryāvarta was the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, where the black antelope roamed about in 'spiritual pre-eminence'. Patañjali has not mentioned this fact, which, according to the commentary of Viśvarūpa on Yājña Valkya Smṛti[1], was sacrifice assuming that form while wandering over the earth. followed by Dharma in its wanderings. The absence of this tradition in the Mahābhāṣya, in connection with the limits of Āryāvarta, is an important fact which cannot be overlooked, as it is noted by the other two - Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha.

A śiṣṭa, according to Baudhāyana, was expected to be free from envy and pride, keeping only as much as was measured by a kumbhī, immune from greed and hypocrisy, annoyance, covetousness, delusion and anger. They studied the Vedas according to the prescribed method together with the appendages, that is, Itihāsa and Purāṇa, and know how to draw inferences. The definition of the Śiṣṭas in the Mahābhāṣya corresponds exactly to that of Baudhāyana, while that of Vaśiṣṭha is general, as it defines the Śiṣṭas as those whose mind was free from desires. There appears to be close affinity in the conception, despite slight variations in words.

The third parallelism refers to voiding at a distance from

---

1. I. 2.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

one's house, washing one's feet at a distance and nīti, as for example, the advice to remain at a distance from robbers, as well as from an angry teacher. In this connection it may be interesting to quote another passage tabooing voiding while standing, and taking food while walking (abrāhmaṇo'yaṁ yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati abrāhmaṇo'yaṁ yo gacchan bhakṣayati).[1] As regards the first point, Manu,[2] Āpastamba,[3] Gotama,[4] and Yājñavalkya[5] have all condemned voiding near one's house, but urinating, while standing, is disapproved in the Atharva-Veda[6] as well. On the second point, no Smṛti parallelism can be traced.

The next parallelism relates to the drinking of wine by a Brāhmaṇī who, for her act, is not entitled to the company of her lord in the next world.[7] Vasiṣṭha has also mentioned it,

---

1. II. 2.6 p.411, L.22.
2. durād āvasathān mūtraṁ durāt pādāvasecanam
   IV. 151.
3. ārāc ca āvasathān mūtrapurīṣe kuryād dakṣiṇāṁ diśaṁ dakṣināparāṁ vā
   Ap. I. 11.31.2
4. narāc ca āvasthāt
   I. 9.39.
5. dūrād ucchiṣṭa viṇmūtrapādāmbhāṁsi samutsṛjet
   I. 154.
6. VII. 107.1.
7. Yā brāhmaṇī ca surāpī na tāṁ devāḥ patilokaṁ nayanti ihaiva sā carati kṣīṇapuṇyāpsu lug bhavati śuktikā vā
   XXI. 11.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

but he is more strict and deprives her of her accumulated punyas or spiritual gains. According to the Āśvalāyana Gṛhya - Sūtra[1], surā, and the scum of boiled rice in addition (to the pindas) are offered to the wives (of the ancestors.) M.M. Kane suggests[2] that women drank, perhaps secretly, liquor even when their husbands, owing to the force of public opinion, had given up the practice. All the authorities have denied all kinds of intoxicants to Brāhmaṇas in all stages of life.[3]

One passage has an exact corresponding reference in the Manu Smṛti.[4] 'For the vital airs of a young man mount upwards to leave his body when an elder approaches; but by rising to meet him and saluting he recovers them'. Manu has stressed on constantly paying reverence to the aged.

These are the parallel passages, noticed in the Mahābhāṣya, as well as in the Smṛtis. There are certain other matters mentioned by the Bhāṣyakāra, and the opinion expressed on them is identical with the injunctions or sanctions of the Smṛtis on those items; as for instance, the reference to the killing of

---

1. II. 5.5.
2. Hist. Hindu. Dham. Śāstras Vol.II. pt.II. p.794.
3. Gaut. II.25; Ap. Dham. I.5.17.21; Manu. XI.94. 'A Brāhmaṇī, who transgresses the law, is denied access to the region of her husband, and is doomed to be born a slut, or a cow, or a vulture.' Cf. Mitra - J.A.S.B. -1873 p.9).
4. Mah. VI. 1.84 p.58, Ll.8-9 = Manu. II. 120.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

a Brahmaṇa, even though not knowing it, and drinking wine with the consequent fall from one's caste (yo hy ajānan vai brāhmaṇam hanyāt surām vā pibet so 'pi manye patitaḥ syāt).[1] The murder of a Brāhmaṇa is mentioned as a mahāpātaka - a great sin by Vasiṣṭha[2] and Viṣṇu.[3] These minor items include injunction against eating forbidden food, or the sale of beef, and customary regulations, salutations and other matters of every day life which, in substance, though not in the same words, can be traced in Smṛtis.

The views, expressed by the two scholars, are of a divergent nature, and it may be going too far to enter into minute details. One can hardly deny that Patañjali knew at least some of the older Dharma Sūtras, otherwise he could not have quoted certain matters of customary or day to day interest; which have nothing to do with grammar. On some points, there may have been a common source for both the Bhāṣyakāra and the Smṛtikāras. While the influence of the Dharma Śāstras on the Mahābhāṣya - amounting to the borrowing of material in substance and language, might be practically negligible, one can hardly deny that Patañjali was in the know of the then literature dealing with the law of Dharma. As regards the period

---

1. I. 1.1 p.2, L.26.
2. I. 20.
3. XXXV. 1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the Dharma-Śāstras, according to M.M. Kane,[1] those of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, certainly belonged to the period between 600 to 300 B.C.; and in the second century B.C., they had attained a position of supreme authority regulating the conduct of men.

THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA AND THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS:- Patañjali has distinguished the legends (Itihāsa) and Purāṇas clearly.[2] (vākovākyam itihāsaḥ purāṇam). Itihāsa included the epics, and Patañjali was familiar with the oldest specimens. Pāṇini seems to have known the story of the Mahābhārata in its earlier recension, as he has mentioned certain important characters of the story - Vāsudeva and Arjuna.[3] Patañjali ~~has not only~~ also referred to the Pāṇḍavas[4] and the Kauravas,[5] including Gāndhārī and Kuntī,[6] and Vṛṣṇi,[7] the Brāhmaṇa senāpati Droṇa and his son Asvatthāman,[8] ~~the Kuntīputra Karaṇa with his two names Kanīna and Pārtha as he was born from a virgin mother (kanyāyāḥ kanyoktāyāḥ kanyābhimatāyāḥ sudarśanāyā yad apatyam sa kānīna iti)~~.[9] He has mentioned the stories of Yāvakrītika[10] and

---

1. ~~Ref~~.cit. Vol.I. p.9.
2. I. 1.1 p.9, L.22.
3. IV. 3.98.
4. IV. 1.114 p.257; VIII. 1.15 p.371, L.1.
5. IV. 2.130 p.300, L.1; III. 3.130 p.157, L.10.
6. IV. 1.14 p.206, L.4.
7. IV. 2.130 p.300, L.7.
8. IV. 1.85 p.237, L.2.
9. ~~IV. 1.116 p.258, L.1-2.~~
10. III. 2.122 p.122, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Yāyātika[1] which are fully narrated in the Mahābhārata.[2] The reference to Viśvāmitra and his attainment of Ṛsihood (viśvāmitras tapas tepe nānṛsih syām iti),[3] is also taken from the Mahābhārata. The popular legend of Kaśyapa Prajāpati with his two wives - Ditī and Adītī, who gave birth to demons and gods respectively, noticed in the Mahābhāsya[4] can be traced in the Mahābhārata.[5] The story of Śuka, son of Vyāsa who had imbibed all knowledge, while still in the womb of his mother, is also mentioned by Patañjali (vaiyāsaki śukaḥ).[6] There are also allusions to Nārada and Parvata[7] the two celestial sages, and the anecdote of King Āmbarīsa (Āmbarīṣaputraka).[8] Other illustrations, noticed by the Bhāṣyakāra and probably taken from the ~~Mahābhārata~~, are those of Ahalyā[9] and Indra, Divodāsa,[10] and Satyabhāmā,[11] the consort of Kṛṣṇa. Patañjali also mentions Kurus fighting righteously (dharmena sma kuravo yudhyante).[12] The incidents and characters from the Rāmāyaṇa, quoted in the Mahābhāṣya, are few.[13] Special reference may be made of Rāvaṇi (son of Rāvaṇa), -

---

1. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.8.
2. Vana, chap. 135-8; Udyo Chap. 120-2.
3. IV. 1.104 p.254, L.17.
4. I. 1.72 p.185, L.10.
5. I. 64.2480.
6. IV. 1.97 p.253, L.5; Mah. XIII. 84-85.
7. VIII. 1.15 p.371, L.1.
8. IV. 2.52 p.282, L.16.
9. II. 2.62 p.466, L.15.
10. VI. 2.91 p.132, L.9.
11. I. 1.45 p.111, L.24.
12. III. 2.120 p.122, L.21.
13. I. 1.57 p.144, 20.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Indrajit, the army of the monkeys (vānara sainyā),[1] the liberation of Ahalyā, referred to earlier, and the cave Kiṣkindhya[2] (mentioned in the definition of Āryāvarta), and names of certain ṛṣis like Vasiṣṭha, Jābāli,[3] Viśvāmitra and Auddālaki.[4]

The relation of the Mahābhāṣya ~~with~~ to the Purāṇas may be traced in parallel references, both in expression and in substance. Since the Purāṇas are characterized by such accounts as relate to cosmogony, different yugas, dynasties of Kings, and other extraneous matters like fables and superstitions, it may be interesting to find out data relating to such topics in the Mahābhāṣya. The Bhāṣyakāra ~~does~~ notes ~~cite~~ certain information of a metrological and astronomical nature, as for example, his reference to the colours in the sky denoting atmospheric results - brownish for wind, red for lightening, yellow prognosticating a good harvest, and white an indication for famine;[5] and an allusion to a mirage (mṛgatṛṣṇāvat)[6] or the cities of the gandharvas (gandharvanagarāṇi). It is difficult to see in these references any parallelism. The earliest of the Purānas is supposed to be the Vāyu which is expressly named in

---

1. I. 3.25 p.281, L.9.
2. II. 4.10 p.475, L.4.
3. II. 4.58 p.489, L.6.
4. II. 4.66 p.493, L.16.
5. vātāya kapilā vidyud ātapāya atilohinī
   pītā bhavati sasyāya durbhikṣāya sitā bhavet
   II. 2.13 p.449, Ll.25-26.
6. IV. 1.3 p.196, L.21.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

the Mahābhārata and its supplement the Harivaṁśa. A study of the cultural data from the Vāyu Purāṇa has recently been made,[1] and the material is classified under archaic survivals, ancient materials, and accretions. In the second class the writer ~~has~~ placed the material aligning with the early Dharma Śāstras, the early Buddhist and Jain canonical literature, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, Manu Smṛti and the earlier portion of the Mahābhārata. Comparing the information of a social nature, in this Purāṇa meat eating is regarded as a characteristic of the Piśācas,[2] but in the Mahābhāṣya, only the flesh of five-five-nailed animals is ~~forbidden~~ to be taken; other meat could not be taken. Drinking is also condemned as a sin, and a surāpā is looked down upon as a great sinner.[3] It is stated that in the Kāli age, (even) women will be fond of wine and similar vices.[4] Traces of such common links can be noticed because Hindu life has not changed so much from its original ~~outlook~~ phase; but exact parallel wordings are not to be found. It is not improbable that Patañjali, while referring to the compound, Itihāsa - Purāṇa, had some such work in mind, which may probably have been Vāyu-Purāṇa; but there is no certainty on this point. Winternitz has pointed out[5] that there certainly existed an

---

1. Patil: Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa p.47.
2. p.69; 63. 2517.
3. 82. 367.
4. 58. 43.
5. His. Ind. Lit. Vol.I. p.534.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ancient Purāṇa under this name (Vāyu). We may be ~~justified~~ right in inferring its existence, and Patañjali's knowledge of this Purāṇa, but such parallel references, as we find in the case of Vedic and Smṛti passages, are wanting here.

PATAÑJALI AND THE KĀVYA LITERATURE:- Patañjali ~~has~~ quoted a number of passages written in the Kāvya style and ~~has~~ actually referred to a Kāvya by Vararuci (Vārarucaṁ kāvyam)[1], who is identified by some with the Vārttikakāra Kātyāyana.[2] Fragments of verses of ornate form, which may have been either his own composition, or taken from some earlier source, are also noticed in the Mahābhāṣya. The Bhāṣyakāra alludes to the poetic license in the expression - chandovat kavayah kurvanti,[3] and actually mentions a chandaḥśāstra[4]. In the light of these references, we may consider the extent to which Patañjali ~~may~~ might reveal utilized Kāvya poetry in his comments. This study ~~may bring~~

---

1. IV. 3.101 p.315, L.18.
2. Ref. T.Gaṇapati Śāstrī - Vāraruca Saṁgraha - preface p.1. This manuscript, edited in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No.33) only about two centuries old, has a running commentary by Dīpaprabhā who has quoted Bhartṛhari, Kaiyata, Jinendra and Haradatta, but no author posterior to him. Vararuci has been extolled by the commentator to a position of great eminence, equal to that of the Sūtrakāra in respect of freedom of language, and would appear to identify him with Vararuci, otherwise known as Kātyāyana, the author of the Vārttikas. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, however, places him in the time of Vikramāditya.
3. I. 4.3 p.313, L.5.
4. I. 2.32 p.208, L.19.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~out~~ the poetic talents of the Bhāṣyakāra who, possibly, composed some verses himself, and secondly it would suggest the existence of kāvya poetry and literature in his time. Patañjali would not possibly have set his hand to the poetic verses in his commentary without an adequate knowledge of the rules of metrical composition, or if he probably borrowed from some other source, then in that case the existence of the Kāvya literature earlier than Patañjali cannot be questioned. We may suggest that the Bhāsyakāra was conscious of the ~~environments~~ canons and characteristics of the Kāvya poetry in both its themes and its ornamentation; and, ~~though~~ Despite the fact that there is no room for such poetry in a work on grammar, one notices flashes in the form of fragmentary verses in the Mahābhāṣya, likely to stimulate the reader in the difficult task of following the commentary.

From Patañjali's references it is clear that from its very dawn, love is established as one of the dominant themes of Kāvya poetry. The widely-diffused Kāvya manner and its prevailing love interest permeates even the domain of grammar; and we notice references like, varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāh[1] - 'O fair-limbed one, the cocks unite to proclaim'. This illustration is given by Patañjali for the inapplicability of the Sūtra - vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe, in the case of birds or lower animals who are incapable of making articulate speech, even

---

1. I. 3.48 p.283, L.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

though they make a chorus of noise. The other reference of a rather erotic nature is priyāṁ mayūraḥ pratinarnṛtīti - yad-vat tvaṁ naravara nṛtīṣi hṛṣṭaḥ[1] - the peacock dances towards his beloved; and another - ā vanāntād odakāntāt priyam pāntham anuvrajed iti.[2] 'Let her follow the wanderer she loveth to the ends of the woods to the ends of water'. There is a parallel reference from the Ṛg-Veda, quoted earlier, which can also be mentioned here. It compares speech to a loving wife, well attired, presenting herself to her husband (jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ).[3] The introduction of this love element may have been due to Patañjali's desire to interest his reader. Love poetry is very common in Sanskrit literature.

The Bhāṣyakāra ~~has also~~ used epic or panegyric poetry, pathos, gnomicism, and nīti relating to political wisdom in maxims. The first aspect is seen in addresses like prathate tvayā patimatī pṛthivī[4] - 'the earth with thee as Lord is celebrated as wide', and in Jaghāna kaṁsaṁ kila vāsudevaḥ[5] - 'Vāsudeva slew Kaṁsa;" and in other reference - asidvitīyo 'nusasāra Pāṇḍavam[6] 'with sword as mate he attacked Pāṇḍu's son'. These references are supposed to refer to anecdotes of the past from which Patañjali took only fragmentary verses

---

1. VII. 3.87 p.338, L.23.
2. I. 4.56 p.340, L.14.
3. ~~Ref. 10.~~ Mah. I. 1.1. p4 ee2-3; R.V. X. 71.4.
4. IV. 1.32 p.213, L.17.
5. III. 1.111 p.119, L.7.
6. II. 2.24 p.426, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to illustrate his commentary. These are important for their epic character, as well as, with reference to the works from which they are taken.

Pathos or deep sentiment is expressed in verses, like

yasmin daśa sahasrāṇi putre jāte gavām dadau [1]
brāhmaṇebhyaḥ priyākhyebhyaḥ so 'yam uñchena jīvati

'One on whose birth ten thousand kine were given to the Brāhmaṇas who announced the good tidings, now lives on gleaning". This verse seems to refer to some anecdote. Gnomic poetry is noticed in verses like,

tapaḥ śrutaṁ ca yoniś ca etad brāhmaṇakārakam [2]
tapaḥ śrutābhyām yo hino jātibrahmaṇa eva saḥ

'Asceticism, learning, birth, these make the Brāhmaṇa, he who lacks asceticism and learning is a Brahmaṇa by birth alone.' The same idea is also expressed in another verse.

trīni yasya avadātāni vidyā yoniś ca karma ca [3]
etac chivam vijānīhī brāhmaṇāgrasya lakṣaṇam iti

Necessity knows no law - and nothing seems right to a hungry man - (bubhukṣitaṁ na pratibhāti kiṁcit)[4]. In another passage he condemns an adulterer who commits sin with his teacher's wife (dhvaṁsate gurutalpagaḥ)[5]. An interesting maxim regarding the education of children, relates to the harshness of the teacher which is for the good of the pupil -

---

1. I. 4.3 p.313, Ll.12-13.
2. V. 1.115 p.363, Ll.14-15.
3. IV. 1.48 p.220, Ll.8-9.
4. II. 3.2 p.444, L.11.
5. III. 2.48 p.103, L.15; Cf. Manu. XI. 103-4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

sāmrtaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na viṣokṣitaiḥ 1
lāḍanāśrayiṇo doṣās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāḥ

'Fraught with life, not with poison, are the blows that teachers give; vice grows by indulgence, virtue prospers by reproof.' In one passage, possibly taken from the Mahābhārata, emphasis is laid on the time factor playing an important part in life - destruction is inevitable for all in course of time (kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni kālaḥ saṁharati prajāḥ).[2] The character of a drunkard; never wearied of his drink, is compared to the inevitability of death - in a verse:

ahar ahar nayamāno gām aśvam puruṣam paśum 3
vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī

'Though day by day he takes his toll in cattle, horses, men, and beasts, Vivasvant's son is never tired of, as a drunkard is never wearied of his wine'. There is another maxim which suggests political wisdom - kṣeme subhikṣe kṛtasaṁcayāni purāṇi rājñāṁ vinayanti kopam[4] 'citadels were stored in peace and abundance calm the wrath of Kings'.

Kielhorn has mentioned[5] in all 260 verses, including these, written in different metres - the ordinary Ārya, about 40 verses; portions of an Ārya two; Gīti - one verse and a half; the ordinary Śloka - about 165 verses, three quarters of a verse, half-verses and quarter-verses; Vaktra - with

---

1. VIII. 1.8 p.367, Ll.12-13.
2. III. 3.167 p.167, L.12.
3. II. 2.29 p.431, Ll.3-4.
4. V. 4.68 p.438, L.9.
5. I.A. Vol.XIV. p.326 f; Vol.XV. p.229.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

half a verse; Vidyunmālā with a quarter verse; Samānī, Indravajrā, Upajāti, Dodhaka, Śālinī, Vaṁśasthā, Toṭaka, Jagatī and irregular Tṛṣṭubha or Jagatī verses. Keith also referred[1] to specimens of such ornate metres as the Mālatī, the Praharṣiṇī, the Pramitākṣarā, the Vasantatilaka, besides the normal Śloka and Triṣṭubha. He suggested that the new metres lead us into a different sphere from the Vedic metres, and striking light on this development is afforded by the metre of the Kārikās, mostly, if not all, written probably by the predecessors of Patañjali, which deal with disputed points of grammar. The richness and elaboration of metre, in striking contrast to the comparative freedom of Vedic and epic literature, must certainly have arisen from poetical use; it could not have been invented for grammatical memorial verses for which a simple metre might better suffice. ~~Kielhorn,~~ Kielhorn in the light of the commentator's views, has suggested that some of the verses in the Mahābhāṣya are by Kātyāyana, and others by another author of Vārttikas; but these commentators also assign some verses to the Bhāṣyakāra.[2]

---

1. Hist. Sans. Lit. p.47.

2. "When the term Śloka Vārttikakāra is opposed to the term Vārttikakāra (or Vākyakāra), as has been done by Kaiyaṭa on Vol.III. p.189, or by Bhartrhari on Vol.I. p.36," writes Kielhorn, "both of course denote different persons; and in such a case it was hardly necessary for Nāgojibhaṭṭa to tell us that the Vārttikāra (or Vākyakāra) is Kātyāyana, and the Śloka Vārttikakāra another"; he suggests that the verses which have been explained in the Mahabhāṣya do not

(contd. on next page)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

It appears from Kielhorn's remarks, that a good many of the verses in question, either in fragments or in full, have been taken by Patañjali from some earlier works between the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, so that the Bhāṣyakāra quietly borrowed them without acknowledging the source. He borrowed from older works which were in verse, and we should regard these works as the source of those verses to which he appended an occasional remark only,[1] or the meaning of which he merely indicated in a general way.[2] We should, however, like to take a broad view ~~suggesting~~ proposing that the Kāvya literature was ~~in vogue~~ known in the time of Patañjali, which should not be disputed in view of the reference to the Vararuci Kāvya in the Mahābhāṣya. As regards Kielhorn's contention, it would be idle to deny the authorship of the Śloka Vārttikas to Patañjali, and to condemn him as a plagiarist would show a narrow view. His wide reading and balanced outlook, anxious to make his commentary understandable to the Śiṣṭas, not only with illustrations, but even with a change from prose to poetic verses, was a good method adopted by the Bhāṣyakāra. Some half or

---

belong to Kātyāyana, but have been borrowed or quoted by Patañjali from other works. There is every reason to believe that these works were composed after the Vārttikas. Though they were written in verse, their aim was the same, which Patañjali had in view when writing his own work, to elucidate or correct and improve on the Vārttikas, and to discuss matters connected with individual rules of Pāṇini, or with the system pf Pāṇini's grammar, that had not been touched upon by Kātyāyana. (Ref.I.A. Vol.XV. p.229)

1. I. 1.38 p.96, Ll.1-5; III. 2.188 p.137, Ll.4-7.
2. I. 1.57 p.147, Ll.12-13.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

verses and maxims may have been taken from earlier works, as he borrowed from the Vedic literature, but the Śloka Vārttikas appear to be his own compositions, for which he was not unequipped by reason of his literary talents.[1] Kielhorn has mentioned 165 ordinary Ślokas, which were very probably written by the Bhāṣyakāra. As regards the use of new metres, distinct from the Vedic ones, they may have been in use earlier than the time of Patañjali in the Kāvyas, unknown to us, or some may have been his own creations.

PATAÑJALI AND POPULAR LITERATURE:- The Bhāṣyakāra was aware of the popular literature dealing with tales taken from the epics, or of an independent nature, which were current in that period. He has referred to tales about Yava Krīta, Priyaṅgu and Yayāti,[2] and has furnished names of three Ākhyāyikās, namely Vāsavadattā, Sumanottarā and Bhīmarathī.[3] The two general terms used are - Ākhyāna and Ākhyāyikā - the former is traced in the Vedic literature[4] as well, and, though the latter occurs only once in the late Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,

---

1. Peterson - in a paper on 'Pāṇini, Poet and Grammarian', suggested on the basis of his reading of Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali, who ascribes certain verses to Pāṇini, that "Pāṇini is not the only name which is connected by Indian tradition with the two muses of Grammar and Poetry. What is true of Pāṇini is true of his two commentators, Katyāyana or Vararuci, and Patañjali." (J.R.A.S 1911.p.321).

2. IV. 2.60 p.284, L.8.
3. IV. 3.87 p.313, L.22.
4. Ref.Vedic Index Vol.I. p.52.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

its significance is doubtful. According to Keith, the story is naturally related in prose, but the moral is fixed in ~~the~~ memory by being put in verse form. Later on stanzas were inserted in the narrative itself which are not maxims, but, like the label refer definitely to the tale itself, and thus we achieve the use of Ākhyāna or narrative verses. The Ākhyāyikā, apart from merely formal requirements, was a serious composition generally dealing with facts of experience and having an autobiographical, traditional or semi-historical interest; and it was distinct from a Kathā - which was essentially a fictitious narrative.[1] The stories of Vāsavadattā and Sumanottarā seem to be very popular in that period. The heroine of the first story was the wife of King Udayana of Vatsa to whom she offered herself against the wishes of her father Pradyota. The name is also given to the heroine of Subandhu's novel who is represented to have been betrothed by her father to Puṣpaketu, but was carried away by Kandarpaketu. The latter is a very late story. The Ākhyānas of Yavakrīta and Yayāti are related in the Mahābhārata.[2]

There are a few interesting stories and anecdotes which are also noticed in the Mahābhāṣya. The one under the title Vṛddhakumārī[3] is narrated by Patañjali. A virgin in her

---

1. DasGupta & Dey: His. Sans. Lit. p.203; Cf. De. B.S.O.S. III. 1925, pp.507-17.
2. III. 135 Ll.10701-35; I. 75 Ll.3126-28.
3. IV. 2.3 p.388, L.10 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

advanced age was told by Indra to ask for a boon. She entreated him to grant her such a boon so that her sons might eat rice with milk and butter in a brass-made utensil. By a single boon she managed to secure all she desired - a husband, sons, cows and rice. This applied to a sentence having a variety of meanings.

The bird fables are also quoted by the Bhāṣyakāra - as for example, Kākatālīyam[1] - which expression stands for the manner of the crow and the palm fruit - meaning unexpected death as in the fable of the fruit of the palm falling unexpectedly at the moment of the alighting of a crow and killing it (kāka-gamanam iva tālapatanam iva), and ajākṛpāṇīyam[2] - the maxim of the she-goat and the sword. It is founded on the story of a goat's being suddenly killed by accidental contact with a sword. Both these stories are used to illustrate a surprising event happening altogether by chance. Another story quoted by Patañjali, corresponds to a Buddhist Jātaka story. Under I.3.25 (upān mantrakaraṇe) - Patañjali gives as an instance of the first Vārttika ādityam upatiṣṭhate - 'he adores the sun'; and he quotes the instance of a monkey who apes the adoration of the sun in a crowd (or army) of monkeys (paśya vānarasainye 'smin yad arkam upatiṣṭhate)[3]. This

---

1. V. 3.106 p.429, Ll.8-9.
2. II. 1.3 p.377, L.14.
3. I. 3.25 p.281. L.1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

illustration may be compared to the Ādiccupatthānajātaka).[1] In this connection it is equally interesting to notice certain maxims of a popular nature, and it is probable that they were taken from some literature dealing with the subject, though some may have been used in conversation. Some of them are traced in later Sanskrit works. The Maxims of the well-digger - kūpakhānakanyāyaḥ;[2] something on which a crow is perched - kākādhikaraṇanyāyaḥ;[3] the rice in the cooking pot - sthālīpulākanyāyaḥ[4] meaning that the condition of the whole class is inferred from that of a pot; a mongoose's standing on hot ground - avataptenakulasthitam[5] used in the sense of a fickle person, also known as tīrthakāka,[6] or the crow at a centre of pilgrimage, are notable. Some of these may have originated from the Mahābhāṣya itself,[7] as for example - men do not refrain from setting the cooking-pots on fire because there are beggars (who may ask for the contents), nor do they abstain from sowing barley because there are wild animals (na hi bhikṣukāḥ santi iti sthālyo nādhiśrīyante na ca mṛgāḥ santi iti yavā nopyanti).[8]

---

1. J. II. 72-3.
2. I. 1.1 p.11, L.7.
3. I. 1.26 pp.84-85.
4. I. 4.23 p.325, L.23.
5. II. 1.47 p.397, L.17.
6. II. 1.42 p.397, L.7.
7. Jacob. Popular Maxims Vol.2. p.42.
8. I. 39 p.99, L.25; IV. 1.1 p.194, L.17 etc.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A few more may be quoted here, as for instance - an iguana creeping along does not on that account become a snake. (nahi godhā sarpantī sarpanād ahir bhavati)[1], or curd and cumber are fever personified (dadhitrapusam pratyakso jvarah)[2] and water in a bed of reeds is a disease of the feet (nadvalodakam pāda rogah)[3]

PATAÑJALI AND DRAMA:- The existence of drama in its true form in the time of Patañjali has engaged the attention of many scholars.[4] Patañjali, commenting on the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, explaining the use of the present in the phrases cited when the events described, lie in the distant past, has mentioned two examples, that of the slaying of Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali. Since the passage has been the subject of great discussion, it may be quoted here in full: ye tāvad ete śobhanikā nāmaite pratyakṣaṁ Kaṁsaṁ ghātanti pratyakṣaṁ ca Balim bandhayantīti. Citresu katham? citreṣu apy udgūrṇā nipatitāś ca prahārā dṛśyante Kaṁsakarṣanyaś ca . granthikesu katham yatra śabdagadumātraṁ lakṣyate? te 'pi hi tesām utpattiprabhrty ā vināśād rddhīr vyācakṣānāh sato buddhivisayān prakāśayanti . ātaś ca sato vyāmiśrā hi dṛśyante . kecit

---

1. I. 1.23 p.82, L.3; VI. 1.50 p.39, L.7.
2. I. 1.59 p.156, L.8.
3. Ibid. L.9.
4. Weber: Ind. Stud. XIII. p.488 f; Levi: Théâtre indien p.308 f; Lüders: S.B.A.W. 1916 p.698 f; Hillebrandt: Z.D.M.G. 1.xxii. p.227 f. Keith: B.S.O.S. I.IV. 27 f; Sens. Dram. p.31 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Kaṁsabhaktā bhavanti, kecid Vāsudevabhaktāh varṇānyatvaṁ khalv api puṣyanti: kecid raktamukhā bhavanti kecid kālamukhāḥ.[1] Vārttika 6 makes it certain that the sense of the verb must involve the idea of description (tad ācaṣṭa iti), and so it justifies the use of the causative. Now there could be three possible ways, as suggested by scholars, of describing the scenes of the past - by showing them actually on the stage, or they are painted on the canvas and the audience could observe the depicting of the blows rained on Kaṁsa, or the binding of Bali, or the Śaubhikas explain to the audience shadow figures. The second and the third explanation seem to be inconsistent with the meaning which Patañjali intended to convey. The word pratyakṣam is important in this respect. Hillebrandt's presumption[2] that the śaubhikas carried round pictures which they explained, or Lüders' assumption[3] that a painter explains to an audience the picture he has painted, are contrary to the sense we get from this passage. There can be no doubt that the Śaubhikas related the two stories by action and not by presentation in pictures or in words.

The other expression śabdagaḍumātram lakṣyate, is considered by Keith to be painfully obscure, since gaḍu bears no recognized meaning which fits the passage. It cannot be

State Museum Library Lucknow 7102

---

1. III. 1.26 p.36.
2. Ref.cit.
3. Ref.cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

equated with grantha, as presumed by Lüders, nor can it inflict on "Patañjali the sin of verbiage, since Śabdamātram would yield the requisite sense, as observed by Hillebrandt'. The use of colouring, red and black is equally important and it is presumed that the Granthikas formed two parties whose diverse colour marked their nature as supporters of Kaṁsa or Vāsudeva. Keith suggested[1] that 'the development of the epic recitation depicted by Patañjali is in itself, as Professor Levi has shown,[2] the most obvious prelude to the growth of the true drama, and the parallel of the dithyramb is too clear to admit of denial." He explained the passage of Patañjali, interpreted in the light of the Vārttika in a simple and plain sense - the slaying of Kaṁsa and the binding of Bali lie in the distinct past, but one may say Kaṁsaṁ ghātayati or Balim bandhayati, "he describes the slaying of Kaṁsa, the binding of Bali of the painter whose vivid art brings the scene before our eyes, and the same expressions, in the plural, are applicable to the Śaubhikas, who present in dumb show the scenes, and the Granthikas, who recite, dividing themselves into two parties distinguished by their colour." It is therefore clear that there was union of action of the Śaubhikas to the recitation of the Granthikas which gives the full dramatic form, but Keith doubted whether by Patañjali's time drama had actually

---

1. Op. Ref.cit.
2. Op. Ref.cit.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

evolved, and the Śaubhikas and Granthikas represent older stages in the development, still existing independently, or the process of evolution was incomplete.[1]

Now, it appears that scholars have not taken other evidence provided by the Bhāṣyakāra into consideration, nor have they viewed it from indigenous dramatic perspective. Patañjali ~~has~~ quoted references to the natas or actors - natasya śṛṇoti[2] agāsīn naṭaḥ,[3] natasyabhuktam[4] and sarvakeśī naṭaḥ.[5] One important passage - ātas ca upayogo yadā ārambhakā raṅgam gacchanti naṭasya śrosyāmo granthikasya śrosyāma iti[6], clearly suggests that recitations were made both by the natas and the granthikas; and the expression ārambhakā points to the commencement of an action which awakens an interest in the progress of the principal plot. It is clear that this refers to the Sūtradhāra who first enters the stage and suggests to the audience the name of the drama which is to be staged. In another reference, Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned natabhāryā who had to please many people on the stage (natanām striyo raṅgam gatā yo yaḥ pṛcchati kasya yūyam kasya yūyam iti tam tam tava tava ity āhuḥ)[7]. A male also played female's

---

1. B.S.O.S. Vol.I. IV. p.31
2. 1.4.29 p.329, L.6.
3. II. 4.77 p.495, L.12.
4. II. 3.67 p.468, L.19.
5. II. 1.69 p.404, L.16.
6. I. 4.29 p.329, Ll.7-8.
7. VI. 1.2 p.7, L.6.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

part and was known as bhrukumsa.[1] In the light of these references, is it at all doubtful that drama in its true form, and dramatic literature were unknown in the time of Patañjali? Even Pāṇini referred to naṭasūtras,[2] the texts for the naṭas. Keith was not in a position to establish the meaning of naṭa which, according to him, might mean no more than a pantomime.[3]

PATAÑJALI AND PHILOSOPHICAL DATA:- Patanjali tried to raise grammar to the standard of philosophy by introducing logical principles, such as the reference to the eternality of Śabda, the exposition of the doctrine of Sphoṭa, and the application of the principle of Agreement and Difference or positive and negative propositions (anvaya-vyatireka).[4] As regards the first aspect, ~~Patañjali has~~ the Bhāṣyakāra mentioned the names of two eminent grammarians, namely Vyāḍi[5] and Vājapyāyana[6], the former being the author of a big treatise called Saṁgraha, and spoken of by the Bhāṣyakāra as authoritative (Saṁgraha etatprādhānyena).[7] He also developes the theme of the eternality of Śabda by which he meant Sphoṭa - the eternal and imperceptible element of sounds and words and the real vehicle of the idea which bursts or flashes on the mind when the sound is

---

1. IV. 1.3 p.196, L.7.
2. IV. 3.110.
3. Ref.cit.
4. III. 2.84 p.113, L.23.
5. I. 2.64 p.244, L.9.
6. Ibid. p.242, L.11.
7. I. I.1 p.6, L.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

uttered (dhvaniḥ sphoṭaś ca śabdānāṁ dhvanis tu khalu lakṣyate - alpo mahāṁś ca keṣāṁcid ubhayaṁ tat svabhāvataḥ).[1] Explaining the relation of a word to sense as eternal (nityo hy arthavatām arthair abhisambandhaḥ)[2] he seems to have come into close touch with the Mīmāṁsakas, who are noticed in the Mahābhāṣya, though he does not mention the name of Jaimini. He is also supposed to have reproduced the Sāṁkhya doctrine, while enumerating the six causes that often prevent us from comprehending things that really exist (saḍbhiḥ prakāraiḥ satāṁ bhāvānām anupalabdhir bhavati).[3] These are extreme distance, extreme proximity, intervention of other things, obscurity due to darkness, weakness of visual organs, and extreme carelessness.

The Vedantic philosophy is not noticed in the Mahābhāṣya,[4] but one finds words like Brahman, Akṣara and Brahmavādin. An important matter from the philosophical standpoint is the conception of the non-duality of soul, and he mentions the individual soul (ātman) and the supreme soul (paramātman),[5] as well as the physical and internal soul (śarīrātman and antarātman). The internal soul performs those actions whereby the physical soul feels pain or pleasure (śarīrātmā tat karma karoti yena antarātmā sukhaduhkhe 'nubhavati).[6] It appears

---

1. I. 1.70 p.181, Ll.24-25.
2. I. 1.1 p.7, L.10.
3. IV. 1.3 p.197, L.9.
4. VI. 3.86 p.171, L.18.
5. III. 2.83 p.110, L.2.
6. III. 1.87 p.68, L.22.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that the two souls, not only exist but are active in actions, which is against the Vedantic system of philosophy. In this Commentary, Kaiyaṭa, commenting, has explained the difference of souls and not the agency and objectivity of one and the same soul.[1] Another point worth noting is Patañjali's reference to the Pramāṇas (instrument of correct knowledge), which, according to the Nyāyasūtra,[2] are Perception, Inference, Analogy and Śabda. Patañjali has referred to them with the single exception of Analogy (upamiti) in different passages. It is difficult to say if he was aware of Gautama. As pointed out in the comment on this, the Cārvākas admit only one means viz. Perception (pratyakṣa), the Vaiśeṣikas and Bauddhas admit two, that is, Perception and Inference (anumāna), the Sāṁkhya admit three - Perception, Inference and Verbal testimony (āgama and śabda) while the Naiyāyikas admit four. The Bhāṣyakāra has not mentioned the name of Gautama, the Naiyāyika, but the words Gautamīya[3] and Vākōvākya[4] in the Mahabhaṣya, suggest his ~~information~~ knowledge on this system of philosophy. In this connection certain other facts may also be taken into consideration, such as, the illustration (pratyakṣas tena agnidhūmayor abhisambandhaḥ[5] - the clear relation of smoke with the fire.

---

1. Vastuta eva ātmabhedo na tu ekasyaiva karmatvaṁ kartṛtvaṁ ca.
2. I. 1.3 - Basu: S.B. Hindus p.2.
3. VI. 2.39 p.125, L.12.
4. I. 1.1 p.9, L.22.
5. III. 2.124 p.125, L.15.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The inference is impossible without previous perception, as mentioned in the Nyāyasūtra (atha tatpūrvakaṁ trividham anumānam)[1], but in some cases inference is more reliable than perception (pratyakṣād apy anumānabalīyastvaṁ tu evam)[2]. One also finds a reference to Kriyā or action which is not visible but comprehended only by inference (Kriyā nāmeyam atyantāparidṛṣṭā)[3]. The semi-organs are capable of providing cognition only when they have direct association with the mind (manasā saṁyuktāni indriyāṇi upalabdhau kāraṇāni bhavanti)[4]. The sense organs, incapable of giving cognition (perception) by themselves, could only do so through the connection with the mind, to which the Naiyāyikas added another factor - the soul with which the mind gets invariably connected. Thus, according to them, a sense coming in contact with its object produces knowledge in soul only if the sense is conjointed with the mind. This conjunction is a necessary element in the definition of perception.

Another point, worth mentioning is the conception of the syllogism (avayavin). According to the Nyayāsūtra, sādhyatvād avayavisaṁdehaḥ[5] there is, some say, doubt about the whole, which is yet to be established, and parts alone are realities.

---

1. I. 1.5.
2. Ref. 139, L.17. III. 2.124 p.125. L.15.
3. I. 3.1 p.254, L.15.
4. III. 2.115 p.120, Ll.22-23.
5. II. 1.33.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

A tree, for instance, is yellow in some parts and green in others. If it were one whole the contradictory qualities or yellowness and greenness could not have belonged to it simultaneously. Patañjali shares this view (avayavātmakatvāt samudāyasya - avayavātmakaḥ samudāyaḥ - abhyantaro hi samudāye 'vayavaḥ - tad yathā vṛkṣaḥ pracalan saha avayavaiḥ pracalati)[1].

The question of desire, directly known by action, is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra (icchāyā hi pravṛttita upalabdhiḥ icchāyā hi pravṛttita upalabdhir bhavati)[2]. What one desires to do is clearly understood by his action. According to the Nyāyasūtra, 'desire, aversion, volition, pleasure, pain, and intelligence are the marks of the soul' (icchādveṣaprayatna-sukhaduḥkha-jñānāni "ātmano liṅgam" iti)[3]. Desire is one of the signs by which soul is usually inferred to exist. It is not directly comprehended by perception but only by inference. In the Mahābhāṣya, one also finds references to Mal-observation-things that actually do not exist, but appear to do so, as for instance mṛgatṛṣṇā[4] - mirage, or the beautiful city of the gandharvas (gandharvanagaram yathā)[5]. The reverse case of non-perception of realities is also referred to by the Bhāṣyakāra, as for instance, the movement of the sun (ādityagativat)[6] which

---

1. VI. 1.1 p.3 Ll.14-16.
2. III. 1.7 p.14, Ll.19-20.
3. I. 1.10.
4. IV. 1.3 p.196, L.21.
5. Ibid. L.24.
6. II. 2.5 p.409, L.24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is imperceptible, though real.

Many more passages and references could be traced to show that Patañjali was familiar with philosophical conceptions. It may be going too far to consider this in detail, but there are certain technical terms which may be mentioned, as for example, anugama[1], samānādhikaraṇa[2] (having a common substratum) anantyatva[3] (the state of infinity or eternity), anaikāntika[4] the fallacy of undistributed middle, and a good many interesting philosophical maxims which are included in the comprehensive wor - Pari - bhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. The maxim of the rope which binds at both ends - ubhayataḥ pāśā rajjuḥ[5] is most interesting. It leads one to an embarrassing position - a dilemma. As illustrated in the Jaimini section of Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha[6] - "if you object that non-existence (or absence) cannot be a cause, we reply by asking you whether non-existence can be an effect or not? If it cannot, then we should have to allow that cloth is eternal, as its 'emergent non-existence' or destruction would be impossible. If it can be an effect, then why should not be a cause also?" So this rope binds you at both ends.[7] Another interesting maxim is

---

1. V. 1.59 p.355, L.23.
2. II. 1.1 p.368, L.5 etc.
3. I. 1.3 p.44.
4. I. 2.30 p.207, L.10.
5. VI. 1.68 p.46, L.19.
6. Cowell - Trans. p.198.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

ekadeśavikṛtasyānanyatvāt siddham[1] - a thing that is changed in one part does not thereby become something else. Here Patañjali illustrates the cutting of a dog's ear or tail which does not turn it into a horse or donkey but still a dog.

We have not taken into consideration the reference to substance (dravya) - different from qualities such as form, smell, odour, sound and touch (kimpunar dravyamke punar guṇāḥ - śabda-sparśā-rūpa-rasa-gandhā guṇās tato 'nyad dravyam)[2]; and the eternal entities, including sky, heaven, space and time (nityā dyauḥ nityā pṛthvī nityam ākāśam iti)[3]. The consideration of the philosophical data makes it clear that the Bhāṣyakāra was familiar with the Naiyāyika philosophy. The philosophical literature in that period probably influenced him in his exposition of the grammatical sūtras, and he sought elucidation of the philosophy of grammar.

MEDICINAL AND SURGICAL DATA IN THE MAHĀBHĀṢYA:- Patañjal ~~has~~ referred to the three humours of the body - Vāta (wind or air), pitta - the bilious humour secreted between the stomach and the bowels, and śleṣma, caused by phlegm or mucus.[4] He ~~has~~ also ~~referred~~ mentions to certain diseases like itch (pāman),[5] scrofula (gaḍu),[6] ~~an excrescence on the head (gaḍuśiras)~~,[7]

---

1. I. 1.56 p.136, L.10.
2. V. 1.119 p.366, L.14.
3. VIII. 1.4 p.364, L.25.
4. V. 1.38 p.351, L.11.
5. 1.1.23 p.80, L.25.
6. IV. 3.39 p.308, L.21.
7. ~~II. 3.35 p.437, L.17.~~

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and a kind of leprosy (dadru)[1]. He ~~has~~ mentioned[notices] ladies' disease associated with childbirth, sometimes causing the death of the lady during the birth of the first child (tathā sutāyām asosyamānāyām cabhavati prathamagarbhena hateti)[2]. The child was also sometimes prolapsed (from the womb) - (garbho nirluṭhitah)[3]. Some specific remedies are also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya, as for instance, rice-gruel for curing kidney trouble (mūtrāya kalpate yavāguh)[4], and barley water for excretion (uccārāya yavānnam iti). Ghee (ghṛta) destroyed bilious substance (pittaghnam ghṛtam) and honey removed phelgm (śleṣmaghnam madhu)[5]. Reference is also made to a medicinal oil (iṅgudatailam)[6].

ADMINISTRATIVE INFORMATION:- The information provided by the Bhāṣyakāra on the political events, especially the invasion of the Yavanas, has been considered earlier. Confining our consideration to the administrative data alone, we notice that, as usual, the local unit was the village, and its headman was known as Grāmaṇī[7]. A collection of five villages was called pañcagrāma[8]. A few officers, mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya,

---

1. V. 2.97 p.396, L.8.
2. I. 1.21 p.77, L.22.
3. I. 3.1 p.254, L.16.
4. II. 3.13 p.449, L.21.
5. VI. 1.12 p.17, L.19.
6. V. 2.29 p.376, L.17.
7. V. 2.19 p.340, L.8.
8. II. 1.51 p.393, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

are commander-in-chief (senānī)[1] and King's physician (rājavaidya)[2]; and minor attendants, such as, the canopy holders (chhatradhāra)[3], the gate-keeper (dvārapāla), and the executioner (śīrasghātin)[4]. Tolls or taxes (śulka)[5] and collective fines are also referred to.[6] This administrative information, supplied by the Mahābhāsya, is too meagre to suggest if it is derived from the Smṛti literature, or Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Patañjali has referred to the three objects of life - Dharma, Artha, politics and practical life in general, and Kāma, viz. love or affection (dharmārthau arthadharmau, kāmārthau arthakāmau).[7]

MISCELLANEOUS DATA:- This includes information on topics like arms and armaments, trees, birds and animals. The different kinds of arms - spear (śakti), plough (lāṅgala), goad (aṅkuśa), staff (yaṣṭi), club (tomara), bow (dhanus) and another type of club (mūsala)[8], were used; and a systematic planning of defence was made with a moat dug round the city (utkhā-parikhā).[9] The main strength of the army was called akṣauhiṇī[10]

---

1. V. 1.9 p.340, L.8.
2. VI. 1.91 p.72, L.16.
3. III. 2.9 p.94, L.8.
4. III. 2.84 p.111, L.23.
5. V. 1.47 p.351, L.21.
6. VI. 1.5 p.10, L.28.
7. II. 2.35 p.437, L.6.
8. III. 2.9 p.99.
9. III. 2.101 p.112, L.20.
10. VI. 1.89 p.69, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

- a very popular term. ~~A young recruit was called pākabhārya, while a trained one was known as bhokabhārya.~~[1] Amongst the fruits, plants and trees, mentioned, are:- berry (badara)[2], pomegranate (dāḍima)[3], jasmine (mallikā)[4], Khadira, palāśa, pilu[5] - a kind of palm, the jujube tree (kuvalī)[6], araḍu[7], and the cotton plant (picavya)[8], bottle-gourd (alābu)[9] and flax (umā). The animals, reptiles, and birds, which are noticed in the Mahābhāsya, include, godhā[10] - an iguana, sarpa[11] - ordinary snake, and mahā-sarpa[12], an elephant cub - ibhyāyuvati[13] beautiful cow (govṛndāraka)[14] and horse (aśva-vṛndāraka)[15], wild donkey (khara)[16], camel (uṣtra)[17], sheep (eḍaka)[18], deer (mṛga)[19], peacock (mayūra)[20], pigeon (kapota)[21], a young sparrow (caṭakā)[22], large fish (timiṅgila), goose (haṁsa)

---

1. ~~VI. 3.37 p.156, L.17.~~
2. I. 1.58 p.153, L.13.
3. I. 1.1 p.38, L.5.
4. IV. 3.166 p.328, L.2.
5. IV. 1.27 P.213.
6. IV. 3.180 p.323, L.5.
7. IV. 1.156 p.326, L.11.
8. V. 1.2 p.337, L.4.
9. V. 2.29 p.376, L.9.
10. I. 1.23 p.82, L.6.
11. II. 1.69 p.404, L.19.
12. V. 3.55 p.413, L.14.
13. II. 1.69 p.403, L.11.
14. V. 2.107 p.397, L.9.
15. I. 1.50 p.120, L.6.
16. II. 3.67 p.268, L.20.
17. II. 4.12 p.475, L.18.
18. II. 3.67 p.468, L.16.
19. IV. 2.36 p.278, L.21.
20. IV. 1.128 p.258, L.20.
21. VI. 3.70 p.168, L.8.
22. I. 2.67 p.248, L.8.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

and a kind of eagle (kurara). The data provided by the Mahābhāṣya, on these topics are also meagre. The information is too general, but one may presume that there might have been certain treatises on botanical and zoological subjects.

PATAÑJALI'S STYLE:- In order to estimate the worth of a literary work, it is necessary to consider the material furnished by it, and the way in which it is presented. In short, it is not only what is said, but how it is said which is equally important. On this point Patañjali seems to have placed himself in the position of a young keen student anxious to master the riddles of grammar through a scientific and logical technique. A question is put and the student raises the issue in an intelligent manner with the teacher - who finally solves the problems. The pros and cons are equally weighed. It, no doubt, involves a heavy strain on the reader, especially those who are unfamiliar with the method followed, but certainly it represents a style of its own. Expressions and references relating to matters of every day life enhance the value of the work, which also depicts the cultural condition in that period. With a view to giving a concrete idea of Patañjali's style one or two passages may be quoted here. The first is the famous Mauryan passage - being a comment on the Sūtra jīvikārthe cāpaṇye. Pāṇini has mentioned that the suffix ka is added to a name denoting an image of a deity, but

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that suffix is dropped, if the image secures for the person a livelihood (jīvikā), provided it is not vendible (apaṇya). Now the difficulty is raised with regard to the images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha. Here the suffix ka is dropped despite the fact that the Mauryas in their greed for money had disposed of such images. So the form should be Śivaka, Skandaka and Viśākhaka. Finally he says that taking it for granted that the rule of dropping ka does not apply to those images of the Mauryas, still as regards images used for purpose of worship it does apply (bhavet tāsu na syāt - yās tu etāḥ sampratipujārthās tāsu bhaviṣyati)[1]. In the second passage, for example, from the rule laying down the eatable things, one can understand those things which are not to be eaten. When it is said that (only) five five-toed animals may be eaten, it is to be understood that all the rest are not to be eaten or by forbidding the eating of something, those that may be eaten can be known. Thus, when it is said that the village cock or pig should not be eaten, it is to be understood that the wild cock or pig may be eaten.(abhakṣyogrāmyakukkuto 'bhakṣyo grāmyaśūkara ity ukte gamyata etad āraṇyo bhakṣya iti[2].

Patañjali seems to be conscious of his reader's difficulty and limitations; and, therefore, he has tried to interest him

---

1. V. 3.99 p.429, L.4.
2. I. 1.1 p.5 Ll.17-18.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

with similies and metaphorical expressions and maxims which have been considered earlier. Such a device was considered likely to lighten the strain, but the difficulty to follow Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya was experienced even by the commentators - Kaiyaṭa and Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Nevertheless, one can hardly deny that the Bhāṣyakāra tried to hit two birds with a stone. He succeeded in presenting grammar on a scientific basis for the Śiṣṭas, and for the succeeding generations, he was equally successful in presenting a picture of India of his time which was not free from political upheavals.

We have tried, in this chapter ~~to assess~~ tasses the literary talents of the Bhāṣyakāra and the probable literature on different subjects with which he was familiar. The reference to the Kāvyas of Vāraruci, Jābāli, and his own experiments in poetic metres testify to the development of Kāvya literature in that period. Parallelism between passages from the Mahābhāsya, and those taken from the Vedic literature illustrate the vast bibliography with which Patañjali was conversant. As regards the Smṛti passages, probably there was a common source for the Smṛti Kāras and the Bhāṣyakāra. Drama and dramatic literature were well-known and Patañjali has actually quoted two such dramas. The popular literature was also utilized by the Bhāṣyakāra and we find a good many maxims, some dealing with bird fables. The data relating to medicine,

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

administration, Botany and Zoology are also considered in this chapter. There was, very probably, literature on all these subjects. We have not taken into consideration either Pāli or Prākṛt sources for obvious reasons - paucity of any fixed datum of time and because the present study is confined from the literary standpoint to the Mahābhāṣya alone. These were apparent reasons for skipping over those sources.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHAPTER IX.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

The Śunga period is notable for the ~~chan~~ revolution ge in the sphere of art and architecture. The so-called national school of Art, characterised by colossal mass on the one hand, and the court patronage on the other, assumed a democratic shape and became more popular among ~~st~~ the masses. The ordinary people did not hesitate to donate or dedicate a piece of railing, or ~~any~~ some other object for the service of the Lord. Despite the religious ~~background~~ aspect underlying these works of art, one finds people in their merry-making ~~outlook~~ mood, happy, cheerful and gay. ~~It is~~ Another innovation is the introduction of the human form, not noticed in the Mauryan period, — which plays a prominent part in complete alignment with nature — such as trees, creepers, animals ~~and other objects~~ etc in a happy harmony ~~full rhythm~~ with one another. The method adopted is, no doubt, simple, and the human beings are depicted in their simple ~~folk~~ outlook despite the social inter- fusion of different grades from the ~~regal and noble~~ royalty and nobility ~~class down~~ to the ~~aboriginal folks~~ aborigines. Art, thus, expresses the contemporary Indian mind and outlook in different shades, involving iconographic conceptions of Indian divinities and such ~~demi~~-gods and goddesses as Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, Kinnaras and Kinnarīs. Another important feature distinguishing the art of this period from that of the Mauryans is the use of stone

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

317A.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BHĀRHUT - JETAVANA SCENE

BHĀRHUT - Jetavana Scene

[To face p 318]

[To face p 318]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

on a grand scale. The taksan or the carpenter, whose services were needed for carving out beautiful designs and details, is now replaced by the śailarūpakāra or the sculptor. Patanjali ~~has~~ referred to the Rājataksan employed especially by the King (taksā rājakarmani pravartamānah svam karmam jahāti)[1] who takes gives up his private work. The silpin too is mentioned in the Mahābhāsya earning his livelihood on pay or wages (śilpino nāma te pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante vetanam ca lapsyāmahe)[2], but this term could be used for all types of artisans using technical skill. The fact seems to be that wood was not completely replaced by stone though the latter was ~~getting~~ attaining popularity. This change can be seen in the lunette depicting an elephant procession in the Lomasa Rsi cave façade.[3] Another important phase of the artistic development in this period is the hewing of caves and vihāras to cater permanently for the spiritual and temporal needs of the Buddhist monks. This phase owing to facility of natural resources was localised to a particular region, ~~because of natural resources~~.

The famous stupa at Bhārhut with its railings and toranas, and at Sāñchī with its railings, were also set up in the Śunga period, as is evident from the epigraphic records. Mathurā, Kauśāmbī and Sārnāth, too, were not slow in the realm of artistic activities, ~~and~~, ~~though their contribution is not~~

---

1. II. 1.1 p.364, L.12.
2. III. 1.26 p.36, L.4.
3. Cf. Percy Brown. Indian Architecture, pl.VII. fig.1. (Hindu-Buddhist).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

318A

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BHĀRHUT - CŪLAKOKĀ DEVATĀ

BHĀRHUT - Culakoxā devatā

[To face 319] P319]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

~~much, it is not negligible~~ are much. The famous Buddhgayā railing enclosing the Bodhi tree, where the Lord took his Çamkrama, also ~~dates in~~ belongs to this period. It, thus, becomes imperative to study the evolution of art and architecture in the Śuṅga period on certain ~~basic lines~~ principles, applicable to different centres of art. The famous Jain caves at Udaigiri and Khandagiri, cannot be ignored, and one would be interested in the Besnagar Garuda column as well which was set up during this period. The terracotta figures, notable for their mass production, have also to be considered from the point of view of style and special features. Lastly, we have to consider the earlier phase of the Rock-cut architecture of Western India, and town architectural planning such as we find in the sculptures of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī gateways. There may be ~~from the chronological point of view~~ some chronological overlapping which need not be disapproved.

BHĀRHUT STUPA, RAILING AND TORANAS:- The sculptures from Bhārhut, ~~being a part of the stupa which once existed at the site in the Madhyadesa, and~~ now forming part of a special gallery in the Indian Museum, are a class by themselves. The name of the Navakarmika or superintendent in charge of the monument noticed in a record,[1] suggests that it was erected under the supervision of a person and the expenses were met from the contributions made

---

1. Lüders List no.773.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

319H

BHĀRHUT – Top- Dancing scene
Below- Ajātśatru's visit to Buddha

[To face p320]
[To face p320]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

by members of both the sexes. The donors ranged from ordinary persons to those of the regal class to which the two-mitra ladies belonged. The stupa with its railing and gates was set up at one time, and not by stages as we find at Sāñchī. This is clear from the script of the donatory records inscribed on the railings. The time factor is completely eliminated both in the manner of presentation, as well as in the subject matter dealing with the life of the Master. There is symmetry, and no scene is incomplete. Even the Jātaka stories, depicting the life of the Tathāgata in his previous births, represent that special note of solemnity and dignity which is essential for creating a firm impression on the mind of the devotee. It makes him conscious of life which is to be taken in a serious and ethical spirit. The votaries, simple and unsophisticated, do not lack that jovial feeling which one experiences after he has found a panacea for his sufferings. This may be illustrated by the dancing scene, so beautifully depicted in a rhythmical manner, when Gautama attained enlightenment.[1] The figures of the Yakṣas, Nāgas and Kinnaras with their female counterparts are also notable.

With all the seriousness of life, viewed in its religious and ethical background, the sociological outlook is not wanting.

---

1. Cunningham - Bhārhut. Pl.XV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

In fact the Śuṅga art at Bhārhut is ~~much the~~ richest in social content - representing the life of the people - not without humour scenes. Human life plays an important part, and the sculptor has taken pains to exhibit the picture of society explicitly and in a lucid manner, as he has handled the life story of the Master. Nature too is in harmony with both. As these sculptures have been treated in detail, we shall confine our study only to a few new pieces. A coping stone from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum,[1] depicts an interesting scene. At the top there is a border of stepped marlons with alternate horizontal lotuses, while below there are four panels cut by an undulating creeper. The first contains only a hanging cloth, but in the second two figures are noticed engaged in conversation. They stand between two houses which have vaulted roofs, star shaped windows and mud walls. The figure on the left holds an animal in his left hand while another is seen seated on the top of another cottage. A cakra is placed between two thūpikas on the top of the cottage to the left. In the third panel one finds ornaments consisting of ear-rings, bangles and elaborate armlet. The last panel contains a simple cottage (Parnakuṭī). An inscription on the stone is read by the curator as Gaja Jātaka-sasa, which is completed above the panel on the right with the additional

---

1. Kala: Sculptures in the Allahābād Museum. Pl. XII.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

word - Jātaka, according to B.M. Barua[1] who considered the text of the full label analogous to another Bhārhut Jātaka label reading Vidala-Jātaka, Kukuṭa-Jātaka. These two creatures mentioned in different stories seem to be important characters. This can only relate to the Gajakumbha Jātaka[2] which describes the previous birth of the Buddha as a minister of the King of Banaras who took a tortoise and a hare giving to the slothful king an object lesson of how the indolent came to misery. The tortoise is symbolised by his laziness and the hare by his activity though the popular version is just the reverse.

The Sasa Jātaka story figures prominently in another sculpture[3] on a rail pillar from Bhārhut, now in the Allahabad Museum; containing an elaborate scene in the middle. To the right is seen a spouted jar with two baskets filled with mangoes, and in the middle is a fire altar. An animal probably a hare is seen facing it. Behind him another animal whose head and half body are cut off, is seated in the left corner. A lizard and an other are in between the hare and the half cut animal. The scene represents the story in the Sasa Jātaka[4] where the Hare sacrificed himself by plunging into the fire, when food

---

1. J.U.P.H.S. Vol. XIX. p.48.
2. No. 345; Vol. III. p.139.
3. No. B. 549. Kalā - Ref.cit. Pl. IV.
4. Malalasekhera - Dictionary of Pali Proper Names Vol.II. p.1079.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

was demanded from him by Sakra in disguise. The Hare's nobility was related in the course of giving thanks to a land owner of Sāvatthi who had entertained the Buddha and his monks for seven days. In this scene, the Hare is shown ready to jump into the fire. This Jātaka scene is also observed at Nāgārjunīkunḍa[11] and in a sculpture in the British Museum.[12]

A moving elephant with two riders carrying the relics of the Buddha in an ornamental covering is seen in a fragment of a coping stone.[13] It probably suggests the scene of one of the claimants carrying his share after the division of the relics. At the top, as usual, there is a border of stepped merlons alternating with blue lotuses, and at the bottom one finds bells fastened to a hanging chain.

The Vessantara Jātaka scene is depicted on a corner pillar from Bharhut[14] with two faces, each side being divided into three panels by horizontal bands of railing. The scene in the uppermost panel shows a royal personage riding on a richly caparisioned elephant; two small figurines probably attendants are noticed near the tusk of the elephant. In the middle are four horses with manes while a male figure probably stands or is seated on a chair in case these horses are yoked. The lower-

---

1. Memo. Arch. Sur. Ind. No.24 p.XVIII.
2. Fergusson - Tree and Serpent Worship, Pl.LXXXIII. Fig.2.
3. No. 500.- Ref.cit. pl.VII.
4. Ref.cit. Pl.VI (A) and B.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

most panel, as usual, shows two stumpy figures supporting the structure with their upraised hands. On the other side in the uppermost panel a royal figure is pouring water with a kamaṇḍalu in the hands of a Brāhmaṇa who faces him. At the back are seen two male figures with upraised hands. In the second panel there are again four horses with beautiful manes now yoked in a chariot while three figures, probably, Brahmins because of their matted hair stand near the feet of the horses with folded hands. At the bottom the two stumpy figures support the heavy structure with upraised hands. The story is too long to be told here, but its moral is sacrifice for others; and the efficacy of dāna, is stressed even at the cost of one's personal interest. This Jātaka story is represented in another panel of Bhārhut railing[1] as well as at Sāñchī.[2]

Other fragments of coping stones from Bhārhut depict in one case two deer grazing and a Brahmin standing inside the foliage of a Mandāra tree. The bottom depicts hanging bells while at the top there is the usual border of stepped merlon. In another coping stone a peacock is shown with out-spread tail though the body is cut off and only a part is visible under a panel made by an undulating creeper.[3] The sculpture is too mutilated to give any faithful representation, though the in-

---

1. Barua - Ref.cit. Pt. III. scene 138.
2. Marshall & Foucher - Sāñchī. - Pts. 23, 25, 27 etc.
3. Ref.cit. B. 19 Pl. XIV.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

scription on the top is read as Hamsa Jātaka.

Besides these Jātakas scenes, a few are noted for the humourous and jovial atmosphere. The acrobatic scene on the pillar post[1] is interesting in this respect. The stone has circular panels at the top and at the bottom. In the middle there is a group of hanging men. They are nine in number and hold firmly the feet of the one just above with both the hands. The dress is, as usual, a loin cloth tied by a scarf, embroidered turban, necklace and bracelets and a long scarf thrown round the shoulder with ends falling on either side. To the right and left stand a male and female with folded hands on lotuses. The inscription on the sculpture records it as the gift of the nun Pusyadattā of Nāgarika. The association of an acrobatic scene with a Buddhist monument is very interesting. According to Barua[2], it stands on a par with the wrestling and dancing scenes and these fit well into the artistic scheme of the Bhārhut railing as seeming to represent a melā held in connection with the celebration of the Stūpa-festival (thūpamaha). Patañjali[3] also referred to festival gatherings (samāja) and it was not uncommon to have entertainments and display of acrobatic feats.

Another piece of sculpture on a fragment of a coping stone

---

1. Ibid. No. B.542.
2. Ref.cit. p.51.
3. I. 1.50 p.120, L.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

from Bhārhut depicts an Asvattha tree inside a panel made by an undulating creeper, and two deer grazing and a man (supposed by the curator to be a Brahmin) standing inside the foliage of a Mandāra tree. The bottom border, as usual, shows hanging bells. According to Barua,[1] the figure inside is simply that of a man in standing pose inside the foliage of a Banyan tree and not of a Brahmin, while the scene depicts either two deer, one behind the other or one emerging first from the foot of the tree on the right and then appearing beneath it on the left. As regards the identification of the scene, it lies between two birth stories viz. Kandina-Jātaka (No.13) and Kuruṅga Jātaka (No.21).

These are some of the sculptures, mostly on the fragments of coping stones, now in the Allahabad Museum and they have been described since they are new acquisitions. A detailed study of the Bhārhut sculptures, as representing the earliest phase of Indian art, has been made by many scholars. It would not be proper to pronounce any opinion on the art as a whole unless we take into consideration the Yakṣa and Yakṣīs which figure so prominently both at Bhārhut as well as at Sāñchī.

SĀÑCHĪ:- According to Sir John Marshall,[2] the original structure of burnt brick of the Great stupa had suffered great damage before the outer casing was added to it, and it is

---

1. Ref.cit. p.49.
2. Sāñchī - Ref.cit. Vol.I. p.24.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

plausibly conjectured that it was done by the order of Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga. The stupa was of about the same size as the stupa of Aśoka at Sārnāth, about 60' in diameter at the base with a raised terrace surrounding its base and a crowning pinnacle (harmikā), surmounted by one or more umbrellas (chattrāvalī) within a small square railing. The balustrades above the base and the raised terrace were presumably of wood since all vestiges of them have disappeared. A little further he suggested,[1] that it was reconstructed under one of the Śuṅga kings about the middle of the second century B.C. The additions, made by way of reconstruction, comprised the existing envelope of stone in which the whole body of the original stupa was encased; the lofty stone terrace and two flights of stairs at its base; the stone flagging of the processional path, the stone balustrades in place of the older-fashioned ones of wood- one around ground level procession, a second around the terrace berm, and a third on the top of the dome, and lastly, the harmikā and umbrellas (chattrāvalī) which crowned the whole. It has been pointed out by him that it could not have been done during the reign of the anti-Buddhist Puṣyamitra nor for palaeographic reasons could it be brought down much later than the middle of the second century B.C.

The contribution of the Śuṅga period at Sāñchī is confined

---

1. Ibid. p.29.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to the minor carvings on the berm and stairway balustrades of stupas 1 and 3 which, according to Sir John Marshall, were executed shortly after the middle of the second century B.C., but they throw little light on the history of the local art in stone. The sculptures of stupa No.2, are the earliest important examples of indigenous relief work in stone. The problem of the subject matter did not present much difficulty as the artists were familiar with the motifs belonging to the life of the Master along with the Buddhist emblems - the famous triratna - Buddha, Dharma and Saṁgha. The massive railing of 88 pillars round the stūpa, which was completed in a couple of years, provided scope for the sculptors to display their talents. Plants, flowers and trees, with their salient features were also associated with human figures and so too were the quadrupeds - the elephant, lion, horse and bull. A galaxy of fabulous creatures, fish tailed makaras, winged human heads, stags with elephant heads and fish tails, cobra headed nāgas with human bodies and such other creatures, which the artists could easily conceive and carve out, found a place on the railings. The space being limited, scope, too, was restricted with the result that we do not find Jātaka stories. Owing to paucity of space, allusive emblems or figures were used to denote the important events, as for example, the lotus suggested Nativity, deer - mṛgadāva, and Wheel - the first sermon at Sārnāth.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The carvings display disparity in the quality of workmanship and ~~a general lackness of~~ are wanting in uniformity, which is rather natural, since the posts, cross-bars and coping stones were donated by different persons, ~~and so~~ while the sculptures seem to have been carved by different artists, not necessarily covering a long time ~~though the period taken must not have been a very long one~~. The design and taste differed, depending on the resources of the donor, and the talents of the carver.[1] This does not make the sculptures free from monotony which is apparent, as for example, principal designs are repeated, particularly, the Tree of Life design, or the Māyā-Lakṣmī[2] figures, though slight difference is not imperceptible. The Wheel of Law surmounting a pillar and the latter, too, supported by the Tree of Life, is repeated a number of times with variations on the balustrade.[3] It is needless to go into the differences which have been pointed out by ~~Sir~~ John Marshall. Despite the unequal merits, the reliefs, with a few exceptions, form a thoroughly homogenous group marked by a few characteristic features of a technical nature.

The technical observation, from the point of view of stone cutting, reveals that the reliefs are strictly in one plane with little attempt to reach depth in stone cutting - whether

---

1. Cf. Pl. 78, 23a, b, c.
2. Cf. Pls. 74, 75, 82, 83 etc.
3. Pillar 3a, 5a, 44b, 46b - Ref. Marshall.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

for human, floral or animal figures, or decorative devices. Here the law of frontality applied in the case of human beings, and the memory picture are fully operative with the result that the figures are carved front faced and the feet are usually turned sideways, though occasionally in the same direction.[27] In some cases weight is thrown on both the legs with the result that if bisected, the two halves would correspond exactly.[28] Generally the arms and legs are in varying postures, if one arm is raised then the other hangs down, or held horizontally across the waist. The figures stand out in well-defined relief. Though there is a tendency to depart from the rigidity and stiffness, so common in the early art of Bhārhut, the artist has not been less successful. There are, however, certain exceptions pointing to a more developed style, as for example, in the case of an elephant and a riders trampling on a prostrate foe at the base of a Pillar.[29] The riders are sitting with ease, but the elephant is carved out with a degree of freedom and energy. The realistic attitude of the beasts, and the vigorous, yet delicate, modelling of their heads, plead for a more matured nature of art in these reliefs which are perfectly Indian. It is possible, as Sir Marshall has pointed out[30] that the sculptor must have imitated

---

1. Pl. 74, Ib, Ic; 76, 126 & 15a - ibid.
2. Ibid. 12b, 15a, 49a.
3. Pl. 74.
4. Ref.cit. p.102.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

his elephant group from some well-known prototype of that subject with which he was familiar and which was ~~much~~ more advanced in style and technique. It may not have been an exact copy of the model before him or which he must have seen and clearly remembered. ~~Sir John~~ Marshall has explained that in the second and first centuries B.C., the dissemination in India of Asiatic Greek art in the form of coins, gems, terracottas, small carvings and textiles acted as a valuable stimulus to indigenous art, not only providing it with new motifs but leading in many cases to the adoption of more developed technique. He ~~has~~ also traced the strength of the western Asiatic influence in such motifs as Centaurs,[31] human headed lions,[32] and fish tailed stags[33] and mermaids,[34] and perhaps also in the Yaksi grasping a bough. In this connection, it is necessary to compare the art at Sāñchī with that at Bhārhut with a view to tracing certain common features and differences and the possible foreign influence.

According to ~~Sir John~~ Marshall again, the balustrade and gateway of the stūpa at Bhārhut, like that of the second stūpa at Sāñchī were erected ~~under the supremacy~~ during the period of the Śungas, but various features of the carvings, as well as, the palaeography of the inscriptions indicate that the gateway and certain parts of the

---

31. Ibid. Pl. 75 Pillar 7b.
32. Ibid. 8a.
33. Ibid. 7a.
34. Pl. 87 Pillar 75a.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

balustrades were posterior to the Sāñchī balustrade, though probably not by more than two or three decades. This fact has to be viewed with caution and we defer its consideration till we have noticed the common features, ~~as pointed out by~~ Sir John Marshall, both in style and technique.

Characteristically Indian, both the schools were struggling from the trammels of archaism into freedom and exhibit somewhat similar traits of awkwardness and stiffness due to the constraint of the 'memory image', lack of perspective and the stiff effective law of 'frontality'. ~~But Sir John~~ Marshall[35-1] concludes that "the reliefs of Bhārhut, like those of Sāñchī, are distinguished by the presumption of a small percentage of carvings of unusually free and advanced style, which, there are good reasons for ascribing to north-western influence. Taken as a whole, the reliefs of Bhārhut mark a definite advance on those of stūpa 2 at Sāñchī." In regard to subjects, they are altogether more ambitious; the sculptors are no longer content with simple decorations or figurine groups, as one notices at Sāñchī, but set themselves to portray a variety of scenes representing episodes from the Life of the Tathāgata or his previous births. Even in constricted spaces, the artists have squeezed in many figures crowding the gateway's reliefs, as they are at Sāñchī.

---

35 1. Op. Ref.cit. p.103.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

As regards the differences, the sculptures of Sāñchī belong to one school, those of Bhārhut to another, each having its own traditions and methods. At Sāñchī the art is more natural and unconstrained, the poses of the figures as full and easy as the skill of the sculptor could make them, their contours smooth and rounded, and their minor features unaccentuated. On the contrary at Bhārhut the sculptor seems striving after conscious definition and truth rather than unaffected simplicity, with no laxity in style which is rather tense and artificial. The contours are clear cut and precise, 'anatomical details consciously and incisively defined and every ornament put with meticulous accuracy'. Sir John noticed a certain restrained mannerism, a pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness about these sculptures which are not found on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2, or on the later gateways at Sāñchī, and, while the Indian art of the Malwa school lacks in religious tone, that of Bhārhut is more impressive and ecclesiastic. Bhārhut was more closely connected with the early school of Mathurā which may have been the principal centre from which it diffused, while its eclipse may have been due to the Śaka conquest of that city which took place in the first century B.C.

Now Sir John's contentions have raised many interesting points. Firstly, he thinks that the Bhārhut art was posterior

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

to that represented on the earlier balustrade of stūpa 2 at Sāñchī; secondly, it shows a more ambitious and advanced nature of sculptures fitted for the purpose of depicting the true ecclesiastical history of Buddhism. Thirdly, it was more aligned to the early art of Mathurā which may have been the source of the dissemination of art at Vidiśā, and this school seems to have been eclipsed in consequence of the invasion of the Śakas. As regards the posterior and anterior character of Bhārhut and Sāñchī sculptures on the grounds of style, one cannot be oblivious of one particular circumstance - namely, that we are comparing the Bhārhut sculptures as a whole with only those of Sāñchī which we notice on the balustrade. Space and horizon have to be taken into consideration, and if the Sāñchī sculptor lacks anatomical details consciously and incisively defined, surely it is not he who is to be blamed, but the available space confining his activity to the balustrades. It is equally true that we notice certain Kharosthi characters engraved as mason's marks which indicate that they had something to do with those sculptures. This need not be a ground for presuming that the Bhārhut scultures are posterior even by two or three decades to those at Sāñchī, where one does not find Kharosthi signs. The Kharosthī signature in the Māskī inscription recording the Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka is equally inexplicable, though it was presumed by Smith[364] that the scribes

364. History of Fine Art in India p.30.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of the day were skilled in both the scripts. Under these circumstances it would not be reasonable to presume the posterior character of the Bhārhut sculptures because of some Kharoṣṭhī mason marks.

It has also been suggested that these signs imply the utilization of foreign artists who were called to help the local talents. Political relations, such as existed between the Indo-Greeks and the Śuṅga rulers of Vidiśā close to Sāñchī, would certainly have made it possible in the case of the Mālawa school, but one does not trace Kharoṣṭhī signs there. Coomaraswamy suggested[1] that in some respects the art at Sāñchī seemed to start from a point less advanced than that of the preceding century. Thus, some reliefs on the same railing (fig. 52) exhibited a much greater knowledge of the figure representing pose and movement with animation and grace, and this stylistic advancement could not imply foreign influence nor did the phrase 'direct observation of nature' and 'free from the trammels of the memory image' meet the case.

One may presume that though the two schools of Bhārhut and Sāñchī were independent of each other, they certainly had to rely on some guiding principles obtained by a synthesis, based on mental visualization and abstraction. The improvement in style and pose depended on the artist's skill with the result

---

1. History of Indian and Indonesian Art p.35.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

that on the same railing some reliefs depicting the treatment of human figures are more primitive, while others are more advanced.[38] As regards the age of the two schools, they were more or less contemporary, ~~though~~ but Bhārhut seems older. It is rather strange that Bhārhut died down with the Śuṅgas while Sāñchī continued to flourish ~~later during the period of~~ in the time of the Āndhras and the Kuṣāṇas as well. As regards their relations with the Mathurā art, Bhārhut was certainly connected with it, but whether the former was an offshoot of the later or just the reverse is still ~~an open question~~ undecided, and one ~~may~~ would prefer to keep an open mind, ~~rather than subscribe to the views of Sir John Marshall presuming Mathurā to be the Principal centre.~~ on this subject. Professor Vogel referred to the mixed character of the Mathurā School in which we find on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Barāhat (Bhārhut) and Sāñchī and on the other hand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra.[39] These views ~~seem to apply~~ might be applicable to the later phase of the Mathurā art. During the Śuṅga Period, there is no question of any influence from the North-West.

BUDDH GAYĀ:- The railing at Buddh Gayā, presumed to be associated with Aśoka, ~~though~~ in fact later than Bhārhut and earlier than Sāñchī, dates roughly from roughly about the first century B.C.

---

38 1. Coomaraswamy - Ref.cit. Pl. 51,52.

39 2. Ar. Su. Ind. An. Rep. 1906-7, p.145; Cf. Foucher - L'art ~~Grand~~ Tome I. pp.225 and 615.
Graeco-Buddhist

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

About 30 pieces were found evidently belonging to distinct structures, some pieces of a granite and others of sand stone, but all are similar in style. According to Cunningham[1], there is considerable variety in the subjects depicted in these small medallions and amongst them are to be found illustrations of the famous Kalpadruma or wishing tree, the Indra-sāla-guhā and the Jetavana vihāra scenes. It is needless to go into details regarding the description of these scenes which are not new or capable of any fresh interpretation. Originality and abstraction, as we find at Bhārhut, are wanting, but the carvings have special interest embodying, according to Sir John Marshall[2], two distinct traditions - that of the Bhārhut-Mathurā school which is specially noticeable in the lotus medallions centred with human heads or busts, though they however, lack the same breadth of style and firmness, and precise modelling. The treatment of the features is insignificant, and workmanship is comparatively poor. The influence of the Mālawā school is noticable in easy postures and rounded contours of some of the figures and the simple but orderly composition. By way of illustration, comparison could be drawn between the Jetavana scene here[3] and at Bhārhut,[4] and though the Buddh Gayā scene is more natural and there is no attempt to distort figures by putting them in the available space in

---

1. Bodh-Gayā p.12.
2. Ref.cit. p.106.
3. Cunningham - Bodh Gayā Pl. VIII. no.8.
4. Ibid - Bhārhut Pl. XXVIII. No.3.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

any corner and at any angle, as we notice at Bhārhut, the former lacks vigour and freshness. Anāthapiṇḍika is no longer noticeable in that scene pouring water as a pledge of the completion of the gift, nor are the Gandha and Kosamba Kuṭīs in their natural surroundings with a group of persons. This scene at Buddh Gayā is shown in a most unostentatious manner lacking vigour but not natural simplicity devoid of angular deformities.

Most of the other subjects are treated in low relief, those on the copings being purely fanciful. The others on the panels and medallions include weird centaurs, winged beasts, domestic animals, sacred trees and sundry scenes of human life exhibiting considerable skill in drawing and neat execution. According to Vincent Smith, both the conceptions and executions are purely Indian, but Sir John Marshall thinks that a marked feature of the later, as well as the earlier sculptures at Buddh Gayā, is the presence among them of various motifs of Hellenistic or Western Asiatic origin, such as, centaurs, winged and fish tailed monsters, tritons, schematic animal freezes and most significant of all - the sun god in his characteristic four horse chariot. These show how freely in that period Indian sculptors were borrowing from the hybrid cosmopolitan

---

1. Ref.cit. p.32.
2. Ref.cit. p.106.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

art of Western India, and one of them, at least the chariot of the sun-god, gives a clear indication of the debt they may have owed to that art in the matter of technique.

Now here, too, one may not agree with Sir John Marshall's views as regards the influence of Western Asiatic art at Bodh Gayā in the first century B.C., which question is very problematic. The worship of Sun-sūrya was very common and Patañjali has referred to this deity in about a dozen passages. So the subject matter is Indian in origin, but so far as animals and other creatures are concerned, we have already referred to the data available from the Mahābhāsya on flora and fauna. One may presume that the Indian sculptors, who had hardly any model before them, always depended more or less on their mental visualization, which was based on synthesis and abstraction of details and other available information. We are, therefore, not prepared to admit foreign influence in subject matter or design and style, though we keep an open mind on this subject.

BESNAGAR COLUMN:- The Besnagar column quite close to Sāñchī which was set up by Heliodorus, son of Dion, an ambassador from the court of Antialkidas to Bhāgabhadra, the ninth Śunga ruler, should naturally have traces of foreign influence. A description of the shaft with the capital is necessary. The pillar is much smaller than the Aśokan ones and has eight angles. It is furnished with an ornamentation consisting of

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

half-lotus flowers; and above, it is divided into sixteen panels, followed by a broad cluster of fruit and finally the shaft continues towards the summit with a surface divided into thirtytwo panels. The last stretch is smooth and the capital exhibits the well-known Indian bell-shape.[46 1] A few geese can still be distinguished inclining one towards the other, on the remains of the abacus. The whole structure was originally crowned with a Garuda.[47 2] According to Mr. Percy Brown, the shape and fluting of the camniform capital are of Persepolitan provenance but at the same time bear a marked resemblance to the capital of the Bhārhut toraṇa with which the pillar was contemporary. In the ornamentation of the shaft, the lower part of which is octagonal and the upper sixteen sided, with a band above of thirtytwo facets, there may have been the beginning of a method of enriching this part of the pillar which was developed with notable effect in the columns of the later style. Now, barring the shape and the fluting of the camniform capital which is not free from controversy, the capital does not betray any foreign influence, despite its being dedicated by a foreigner. Even Sir John Marshall has not failed to pronounce that the Persepolitan columns and the winged lions may well have been a legacy from Mauryan times when Yavana

---

46 1. Bachofer: Early Indian Sculptures p.29.
47 2. Ref.cit. p.106.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

artists were employed by Aśoka, ~~but~~, even if their advent into India took place at a later date, their presence implies nothing more than that foreign objects of art of one kind or another had strayed into the workshops of Central India, and these furnished the local sculptors with a few more motifs and ideas. We have no reason to presume that the ~~That~~ Yavana influence on Central Indian art was more direct ~~took at~~ in their period. ~~a more direct form than this, There are no grounds for supposing.~~ One can hardly deny that owing to the political and cultural contacts, it was natural for the Indian sculptors to know some new motifs, but it is difficult to trace any influence more than this superficial contact. The art should have been mature enough to influence but no remains at any rate of any such monuments, nor of any stone carvings at all, have been found in the Greek city at Taxila, which was the important centre of their settlements.

MATHURĀ:- Mathurā is notable for the most conspicuous specimens of the old Indian school of art and it is more akin to Bhārhut with remarkable parallels of toraṇas, railings, Yakṣas, Vṛkṣas, dwarfs and fantastic animals. Its essentially Indian character is unquestionable and this school can trace its history at least from the Śuṅga period, though the famous Yakṣa statues are supposed to be of earlier times. The absence of an Aśoka column in this place is regrettable. During the Śuṅga period, its importance is not unaccounted for. Patañjali ~~has~~ mentioned it a number of times and its association with the

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Śūrasenas. It is true that Mauryan relics have not been found here. The characteristic Mauryan polish is not noticed in any of the sculptures though the existence of old stūpas here is probable in the light of Hiuen-Tsang's[48 1] testimony. The earliest class of sculptures belong to the second century B.C., and this includes the Parkham and Mansādevī statues. Many more Yakṣa statues belonging to this period have been found after the account written by ~~Sir John~~ Marshall[49 2] and they seem to form a class by themselves.[50 3] According to ~~R.P.~~ Chanda these Mathurā images are the crudest products of the early Indian school, though they do not lack certain aesthetic features. As these statues are not confined to Mathurā alone, it is presumed that they were products of a school of art, wholly the result of indigenous traditions and possessing distinct individuality inspiring the sculptors to carve out colossal images worshipped as Yakṣas with their counterparts. These are also represented on railings and toraṇas at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Buddh Gayā. The cult of these Yakṣas and Yakṣis, noticeable as the earliest specimen of Indian art was, according to Coomaraswamy,[51 4] indigenous in origin with these non-Aryan deities or genii endowed with powers of wealth and fertility which they could confer on the devotee. Before the advent of

---

48 1. ~~Of~~. Growse: Mathurā p.62.
49 2. C.H.I. Vol. I. p.632.
50 3. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1922-3, p.165.
51 4. Yakṣas p.36.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Buddhism and Jainism they had been accepted as orthodox in Brahmanical theology with a corresponding cosmology of the famous Eight Quarters of the universe. Their worship survived for long, ~~though~~ though in sectarian literature they served the purpose of exalting the principal deity either as guardians and defenders of the faith or to be pointed as 'horrible example of depravity'.

From the iconographic point of view the Yakṣa statues with their protuberant belly (kumbodara), long dhotī tied with a belt and a special posture - raising of the right hand and putting the left on the hip, may have served as a formula for the carving out of images not excluding the Buddha image (Bodhisattva), as we find at Sārnāth and Mathurā. Coomaraswamy ~~has~~ suggested[1] that the early images of Yakṣas or Yakṣis, whether independent or attendant, provided the model for the cult images of other deities, such as Śiva or Buddha, when Bhakti determined the appearance of all deities in visible forms. The stylistic continunity is maintained, ~~as can be traced~~ in the Parkham and Patna Yakṣa images, as well as those of the Bodhisattvas at Sārnāth, and the Buddha ~~in the~~ statue in Lucknow Museum, ~~besides numerous others~~.

As regards other antiquities of the Śunga period, barring the terracottas, there are a few sculptures carved either on

---

1. Ibid. p.29.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MATHURÀ – The Jàtaka of the Worst evil scene

[To face p 344]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

railing figures or crossbars including the two sides of a Torana Tympanum showing both through symbols and in human form which are interesting. The last one possibly represents that transitional stage. Another railing pillar obtained from the Yamunā near the Saptari Tīlā-ghāt is especially important for the scene carved on the upper half rosette which has been identified by ~~Professor~~ Foucher as the Jātaka of the worst evil. In its simple style of decoration, the usual type of the Brahmanical anchorite is easily recognizable with his heavy chignon, his beard and short garments, seated on a rolled up mat (bṛsi) at the door of his round Parṇaśālā and engaged in conversation with four wild inhabitants. These included a dove, a crow, a kneeling doe and a coiled snake. There is hardly any trace of foreign influence either in style or in the subject matter. The style is reminiscent of the old Indian school, as pointed out by ~~the Professor~~ to Foucher, and the subject matter is the Jātaka of the worst evil. According to this story the worst of evils is neither irresistable passion (kāma), hunger or covetousness (lobha), envenomed hatred (dvesa) nor perpetual fear (bhaya) but the body itself, the source of all troubles. Final repose comes from Nirvāṇa which

---

1. Agrawala - Guide to the Mathurā Museum Fig. 5,7,8.
2. Ibid. fig. 20.
3. Ibid. fig. 8.
4. J.B.O.R.S. 1920 p.470.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MATHURĀ — The Dancing YAKṢĪ

[To face p 345]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

is the supreme beatitude.

Another complete upright pillar, belonging to the second century B.C. has the carved figure of a dancing Yaksī wearing a conspicuous head-dress - elaborate ornaments consisting of double earrings, padaka, pearl necklace, a chain passing over the left shoulder and an elaborate belt besides the usual armlets, bracelets and anklets. The Yaksī is ~~exhibited~~ shown surmounting an atlantes dwarf with protruding eyes. ~~On the top~~ one can see in the top panel, ~~is seen, according to the~~ as suggested by the curator, the figure of the Buddha with a parasol holding disputation with the teachers of rival faiths. Really the figure appears to be that of Mahāvīra, the Jain Tīrthaṅkara because the Buddha image is not found in the sculptures of that period. It is, however, clear that the Mathurā sculptors placed their services at the disposal of all the three important religions - Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. It is not surprising to find Mahāvīra depicted in this panel. The figure is so small that one does not detect Śrī Vatsa symbol. According to Coomaraswamy, the main Jain establishment represented by the Kaṅkālī Tila already existed in the second century B.C.

The school of Mathurā is more related to Bhārhut than to Sāñchī and is represented by some fragmentary sculptures dating back to the middle of the second century B.C. The sculptors also carved out Brahmanical deities. A standing image of a

---

1. Agrawala - Ref.cit. fig. 5.
2. Ref.cit. p.37.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

34 SA

MATHURĀ —. The two armed Balarāma
[Now in the Lucknow Museum]

[To face p. 346]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

two-armed Balarāma, with a canopy of serpent hood the head and snake coils carved at the back and sides of the body with the distinguishing symbols - a club (mūsala) in right hand and a plough (hala) in the left, is in the Lucknow Museum.[1] The conspicuous turban, heavy earrings, the triangular folds of the dhotī hanging between the legs and the knotted girdle, as well as, the frontal effect of the carving suggest that the statue should belong to the Śuṅga period. In this connection it may be pointed out that Patañjali has referred to the temples of Rama viz., Balarāma and Keśava, with the playing of musical instruments.[2] So it is nothing unusual if this statue of Balarāma, the earliest of all available images of Brahmanical deities in early Indian art, is carved at Mathurā.

We have not referred to the railing pillars, serving as an enclosure of stone round a stūpa or caitya, enshrining an object of worship and forming an architectural pattern of its own, as observed at Sāñchī, Bhārhut and Buddh Gayā. These also enclosed the stūpas, both Buddhist and Jain, at Mathurā. As regards the Buddhist stūpas, there were, according to Hiuen-Tsang, still to be seen in the kingdom of Mathurā the stūpa in which were deposited relics of the holy disciples of Sākyamuni, that is, Sāriputra Moggalāna, Pūrṇa-Maitrāyaṇi-putra, Upali, Ānanda, Rāhula and Mañjuśrī. On the yearly

---

1. Agrawal - Guide to the Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum, fig. 1.
2. II. 2.34 p.436, L.5.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

festivals the religious people assembled and made their several offerings at the one which was the object of devotion. Five or six li, that is about a mile and quarter, to the east of the town was a monastry said to have been built by the venerable Upagupta whose nails were preserved as relics.[1] As regards the Jain stūpa, the ancient one probably, according to Vincent Smith,[2] could be dated about 100 or 50 B.C. The Puṇyaśālā, called Prācīnī in an inscription[3] of the time of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Huviṣka, was an ancient gallery of Brahamincal deities where the Lord from Wokhan had created an endowment. It is thus clear that there were, at Mathurā, ancient monuments of the three principal religions, though few antiquities are now traceable, which may have been the result of certain plans of excavations carried out there in the last century. The contributions of the Śuṅga period in the Mathurā school of art were not confined to stones - statues of Yakṣas and their counterparts, and railing pillars, but included terracottas as well. Those belonging to the Śuṅga period have been recovered from many sites in the Gaṅgā valley. It is thus imperative to make a study of the Śuṅga terracottas.

TERRACOTTAS:- The terracotta figurines constitute an important element in art and they are noticed as early as

---

1. Growse: Mathurā p.62.
2. The Jain Stūpa at Mathurā p.22.
3. E.I. Vol. XXI. p.55.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

period of the time of the Indus Valley Civilisation.
~~Mohenjo-daro times~~. The subject has been considered at ~~great~~ length and much has been written by many scholars[64] on it.[1] Coomaraswamy has divided[65-2] these early Indian terracotta figurines into four groups - I. the Indo-Sumerian, II. the period from 1000 - 300 B.C., III. the Śuṅga or early Āndhra and IV. the Scytho-Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta and later. The characteristic difference between the terracottas of different periods from a technical point of view is that those of the first group are modelled and there is use of moulds. The terracottas of the second group have moulded face and modelled body without any part being separately made and affixed. Those of the third group are moulded. Nudism is one of the most important characteristics of the female figurines in the earlier groups, but those of the fourth group are practically clothed. The nude goddess in the terracottas of the Śuṅga period is no longer met with, and on the technical side completely moulded plaques replace the modelled figurines. The body is never built up of separate parts nor does this occur again, though this method was followed in the making of wax moulds for the casting of bronze. The most characteristic type, as pointed out by Coomaraswamy,[66] is a feminine divinity fully clothed in a tunic and dhotī though particular care is taken to show the

---

64 1. J.A.S.B. Letters Vol. IV. pp.71 f. for collected references.
65 2. Archaic Indian Terracottas - B.M.F.A. B XXV pp.70-96.
66 3. Ibid. p.70.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

details of the sex very clearly. The jewelled girdle remains a constant feature, but the types are more varied. The figures and head-dress retain practically the form and detail of the round-faced variety of the previous group - the turbans are larger. Coomaraswamy's conclusions are based on those terracottas in the Boston Museum which, according to him,[67 1] seem, with the exception of those in the first group to have come from Mathurā. But that place was not the only centre for the making of the terracottas. At another place he has referred[68 2] to the terracottas of the Maurya and Śunga ages found at Basarh, Taxila, Bhita, Nāgarī, Mathurā, Pātaliputra, Kosam and Sāṅkiśa. Owing to paucity of space we may confine our study only to a few terracottas of the Śunga period recovered from Mathurā, Kosam and some other sites in the Ganga valley.

At Mathurā, the finds of moulds of the Śunga period suggest[69 3] that considerable progress had been made in the technique of making terracotta figurines out of an original model, which was first prepared in wax or clay and from which a mould was taken by squeezing on it clay which was baked, so that copies could be made completely out of it. The simpler plan was adopted of pressing the clay into the mould and roughly finishing the back by hand. It would, thus, appear that

---

67 1. Ibid. p.90.
68 2. History of Indian and Indonesian art p.214.
69 3. J.U.P.H.S. Vol. 9 p.12.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

figurines and reliefs were made from moulds completely, and not partly as in earlier times. On the technical side completely moulded plaques took the place of the modelled one, only the partial moulding of the face took place during this period. There is a variation of feminine standing or seated types, as noticed earlier, in the pose of the figure or in the fan, mirror or other object which it holds in its hands. They are more akin to the Bhārhut sculptures from the point of view of style, observed in faces and ornamentation. Definite relationship exists between clay and stone objects. Amongst the terracottas of the Śuṅga period from Mathurā may be mentioned the dancing female or nartakī, engaged in her toilet, a woman in dancing pose and a wind pipe playing Yakṣa. It would appear that the subject matter is not religious, and the female figurines (kanyās) are conspicuous giving a charming study of women in different poses of acting, dancing with music and playing with a parrot, her favourite sport. The religious ones include the goddess Śrī-Padmā or Gaja Lakṣmī with two elephants holding inverted jars and standing on up-rising stalks of lotuses, or the goddess Vasudhārā with triple fish symbols shown on the right side. There are also other examples showing male and female figurines in pairs

---

1. Agrawala - Handbook of Sculptures in the Mathurā Museum, fig. 1, 5 etc.
2. Ibid. figs. 32, 34, 35 and 40.
3. Ibid. fig. 14.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

illustrating procreation (mithuna), or showing pot bellied dwarfs (kukṣila yakṣas) and dwarfish figures.[1] A round plaque, showing within a headed border of kinnara-mithuna, a pair engaged in a joy ride, is an excellent piece exhibiting the high quality of Śuṅga terracotta art.[2] The terracottas of this period also illustrate different types of Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs - the pot bellied (kukṣila), ithyphallic (kumbhamuṣka), snouted (tundalika) and nude dwarfs (nagnaka).

Several interesting Other important terracottas of the Śunga period have been recovered from Kosam, Bhītā and Pātaliputra. Amongst the Kosam terracottas, the most important and interesting one is the Vāsavadattā-Udayana one[3] now in the Bhārata Kalābhavana in Kāśī in three plaques which, with their feet modelling, could be definitely assigned to the Śuṅga period. These plaques were originally from Kauśāmbī and depict the story of Vāsavadattā's escape in an authoritative manner. The third one is broken, but the first two give a complete version of the entire scene. There are three riders on the back of a female elephant noticeable for absence of tusks. Her front leg is raised. Amongst the riders in front a woman holds the goad in her hand against the head of the elephant, and by her side, closely touching her, sits a male figure holding a lute

---

1. Ibid. fig. 16.
2. J.U.P.H.S. Vol. IX. p.35 fig. 37.
3. Ibid. Vol. XVIII. p.82.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

of seven strings. They are Vāsavadattā and Udayana. Vāsavadattā's dress consists of sārī with the usual ornaments, heavy earrings and a necklace. Udayana wears a dhotī. On the back is another person holding the rope fastened round the body of the animal at the back throwing coins which are being picked up by two persons. There is a border of small rosettes, and decorative flowers occupy the free space in the background. The plaque is plain. The story of Vāsavadattā was well-known in the time of Patañjali, who has referred to it in his Mahābhāṣya.

At Bhitā, too, in the course of excavations, terracottas of different periods were found including some of the Śuṅga period. One scene in the group, belonging to the period, has been identified by ~~Professor~~ Vogel[1] with the meeting of Duśyanta and Śakuntalā scene. At the top two persons look over railings with foliage to right. Below, to the right a four horse chariot with the charioteer are noticed with a groom. To the left, there is a shrine with caitya doorway and rail round it. In front and below the shrine is a tank with lotuses and a figure drawing water. At the bottom are noticed two deer and a peacock (?) to the right. The terracottas from Basarh in Muzaffarpur district, conforming closely to the earlier Mathurā type, can for the most part be assigned to the period

1. A.S.I. An. Rep. 1911-12 p.35-36.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

120 B.C. to the close of the first century B.C.[1]

As regards the terracottas from Pātaliputra, Gordon classified them under two groups.[2] There are somewhat large heads, one of a childlike appearance of a rather unique character, and the other having a bicorns head dress, and there are almost complete figures with clothing and decoration and poorly proportioned limbs. On an examination of these figures it would appear that with the exception of the child face, these have that round rather 'pug-nose' style of face which must be associated with terracottas of the period C 150-50 B.C. There is little doubt that all are really in the same round faced flat nosed tradition, and these figurines may be of Mauryan date, though stylistically they appear to be of the Śuṅga period - a decision, however, being in suspense. Mr. Ghosh[3] in a study of the early Indian terracottas figurines unearthed at Kumrahar, Bulandibagh and Patna university area suggested that they belonged to the Mauryan period, but those from Taxila and Basārh in the early Indian group were really of the Śuṅga age.[4] N.G. Majumdar referred to two terracotta human heads and two similar fragmentary specimens found at Buxar in Bihar whose style is typical of the Śuṅga times.

---

1. Gordon - Indian Terracottas - J.I S.O.A. 1943 p.157.
2. Ibid., p.152.
3. Proc. All Indi. Orient. Conf. Vol.III. p.707.
4. Arch.Rep. Varendra Res. Soc. 1926-27. p.1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Śr. Mā

Śuṅga Terracotta - From Oxford.

[To face p354]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The most beautiful specimen of the terracotta art of the Śuṅga period is at present in the Indian Institute Museum at Oxford, notable for its ornamentation and dress, ~~which we have described~~ described earlier, and its artistic treatment. ~~The late Dr.~~ Dr. Johnston had suggested[1] with reservation that the figurine represented Māyā who was worshipped in the Gaṅgā valley as Mother Goddess especially associated with fertility - symbolised in the case of this terracotta figurine by fish and 'makara', indicating sexual love. The statuetta is not a votive plaque, but was intended to be affixed to a rounded surface, as shown by the curvature of the back and two small holes for nails made with stamps of different varieties. These are some of the specimens of Śuṅga terracotta art which we have considered with particular reference to their important characteristics - technical and stylistic.

ARCHITECTURE:- During this period there were definite improvements from the architectural point of view. The stūpa at Sāñchī was enlarged to nearly twice its size with replacement of the impermanent wooden railing by the stone one which serves as an impressive production in the range of constructional Buddhist art. The richly carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Jātakas enhanced its architectural and artistic value. Such railings are noticed at Bhārhut and Bodh Gayā as well.

---

1. Jour. Ind. Soc. Orient. Art. Vol.X. p.102.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

354A

[To face p355]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The torana or gateway was also erected at Bhārhut during this period; but much more important architectural contribution of this period is the rock cut caityas and vihāras which were hewn out in the sylvan hills of the western ghats. The Śuṅga monarchs had hardly any hand in it, nor did their empire extend as far as that region, but one can hardly deny that the quarry-men with their hammers and chisels were bristling with activity, catering for the need of the Buddhist monks during this period.

The architectural formation in these rock-cut retreats was the monastery proper with an arrangement for the accommodation of monks in the vihāra - a square central hall entered by a doorway, in front of which was a vestibule, portico or verandah. The doorway entered into square cells carried still further into the rock, which were the abode of monks. The style of architecture employed in the rock-cut monasteries was a reproduction of the then existing structural originals of such wooden buildings. Even the details relating to the joints or fastening of constructions were copied, and the earlier rock work was supplemented by a good amount of wooden construction attached to its surface. Of the two structures - the caitya was more important than the vihāra, with its apsidal end, colonnades and ribs at the top. The stūpa carved out of the rock assumed a prominent place near the end, and was plain except for the railing carved and the harmikā with the parasol.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[10 Face p356]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[To face p 356]

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The Hīnayāna rock cut temples belonging to this period are at Bhāja, Kondana, Pitalkhora, Ajantā (No. 10), Bedsa and Ajantā (9) Nāsik and Karle, probably carved out in this order and definitely before the Christian era, though it is suggested that the first four were cut out in the second century and the remainder in the first century B.C.

The rock-cut architecture of Orissa ~~also~~ belongs to the second century B.C., consisting of a collection of chambers which were meant for Jain monks. There are no caitya halls but only cellular retreats akin to those vihāras of the western ghats. The famous Hāthigumphā inscription of the time of King Khāravela suggests its excavation earlier than his period. According to Percy Brown, all the excavations of the Orissan group appear to have been made in the 150 years previous to the Christian era, after which the production ceased, although on the Khaṇḍagiri hill a short revival took place as late as the mediaeval period when a few Jain cells were added. These Orissan group caves imply an independent development little in common with any other rock-cut architecture. The Rānīgumphā provides the characteristic feature of the architectural treatment in the Orissan cave temples. Percy Brown noticed in the design of the pillars supporting the verandahs and the pilaster of the mural arcadings two traditions - one of in-

---

1. Indian Architecture - p.24f
2. Ibid. p.36.
3. Ibid. p.37.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

digenous origin derived from a wooden prototype and the other noticed in the pilasters on the walls with their capitals formed of addorsed animals, which represent according to him the debased descendants of the Persepolitan order. In spite of this classical motif, as suggested by Mr. Brown, there is much in the decorative nature of the arches to connect it with the early structural art of the country.

(ii) TOWN ARCHITECTURAL PLAN:- The city architectural plan is also noticeable in the sculptures at Bhārhut and Sāñchī which definitely suggest some model on which the houses with special reference to the palaces were built. Coomaraswamy made a special study of this aspect of architecture on the basis of the sculptural scenes depicting dwellings especially the prāsādas, and the literary evidence furnished by the Jātakas and other Pālī literature.[55 1] The term Pasāda (Prāsāda) designated a mansion typically of several stories, though it often denoted a palace or other pretentious dwelling. On the Bhārhut bas-reliefs one notices two types of buildings - the domed and the round in plan, the second being barrel-roofed and sometimes three storey high. The Vaijayanta Prāsāda, the palace of the Devas in the Trayastrimsa[86 2] heaven, is depicted as a three storied building, the highest in the sculptures.

---

55 1. Eastern Art Annual - 1931. Vol. III.
86 2. Cunningham - Ref.cit. p.118.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

The basement storey is an open pillared hall, the lower third of its height being closed by a Buddhist railing. The building is divided horizontally into three portions. The lower third of the second storey is also closed by a Buddhist railing, above which rise three arched openings, one on each section of the building. A broad band above these, probably of mouldings, runs the whole width of the temple. The third storey also has a Buddhist railing above which are two arched openings. The roof is not displayed.

The Kuṭi in the two specimens - Gandha and Kosamba is a single storied building enclosing an altar or throne with a garland hanging over it. It has an arched doorway, surmounted by a second archlike hood moulding. The door of the Kosamba kuṭī is a dome with a small pinnacle on the top, but that of the Gandha kuṭī has gable ends with a pinnacle at each end.

The same arched door, with its semi-circular hood moulding and the same doomed roof is also noticeable in a building of similar outline. It appears to be an open-pillared hall with a throne in the middle, canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands. The Puṇyaśālā or religious house also offers an interesting piece of study. That of Pasenajita is a two storied building enshrining the 'Dharmacakra'. The lower

---

1. Barua - Ref.cit.
2. Cunningham - Ref.cit. Pl. XVI. fig. 1.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

storey is an open pillared hall standing on a plinth or basement ornamented with a Buddhist railing. The upper storey is divided into three portions, the middle one being slightly retired. There are arched windows covered with semi-circular hood-mouldings and the wall of the central portion is ornamented with a Buddhist railing up to the springing of the hood-moulding. The semi-cylindrical domed roof with two gable ends, and a line of eight small pinnacles springs from this level.

Cunningham also referred[89] to the canopies, thrones, and ascetic hermitages; but there is one uniform pattern consisting of a long room, with either a pointed or a semi-cylindrical domed roof and a small opening in each gable to give air and light. The ends of the longitudinal timbers are shown in the gables, leaving little doubt about the thatching of the roof At Sāñchī, since the scenes depicting the architectural side are carved on toraṇas of the later period, they cannot be associated with the Śunga period, though the same type continued in later times as well. A survey of the scenes with buildings of two or three storeys, as pointed out by Smith[90] accords with the colourful description of the splendours of such towns of ancient India, as Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. Civil architecture is described in the Jātakas

---

89 1. Ibid. p.122.
90 2. Ref.cit. Pl. 13(a).

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

as well.

We have considered art and architecture of the Śuṅga period with particular reference to Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Buddh-Gayā and Mathurā. While much has been written on these centres of art, and there is hardly anything new by way of presentation, we have confined ourselves to certain important sculptures of this period. The contribution of this age in the realm of art and architecture is not negligible. The art may be lacking in stupendous productions, but it is very rich from the stylistic and subjective standpoints. It is no longer confined to the royal palace or the pillars of Aśoka, but is more democratic. The subject matter is, no doubt, the life of the Tathāgata and scenes from Jātaka stories relating to his previous births. Here we notice lay devotees trying to give evidence of their bhakti and devotion towards the Lord, irrespective of their status. The famous sculptures carved on the gateways at Bhārhut, and the railings at Sāñchī and Buddh Gayā, which were set up during this period, are some of the best specimens of Indian art. The critic may notice some defect, particularly too many scenes in too little space, but he can hardly be oblivious of the difficulties and the limitations imposed on the sculptor. The sudden change from wood to stone is another factor which cannot be lost sight of, and, if the carver could be equally proficient in his new

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

setting, then certainly it is meritorious. The human form unnoticed in the Mauryan period is in alignment with nature and isolated objects are in full rhythm. The two important centres, - Bhārhut and Sāñchī, have much in common, but there are differences based on separate traditions and methods. ~~Sir John~~ Marshall drew distinction with particular reference to restrained mannerism, pleasing affectation and dignified stylishness in Bhārhut sculptures, but that is not a proof to the posterior character of Bhārhut sculptures which is more impressive. The early school of Mathurā notable for the Yakṣa statues may have been the principal centre from where art diffused, but the influence of local traditions was not less, with the result that the two schools of Bhārhut and Sānchī were independent of each other, though both of them had to rely on certain guiding principles obtained through a synthesis, based on mental visualization and abstraction. We have considered the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar as well, with a view to tracing foreign influence on Indian art in that period, since it was set up by a foreigner. One may keep an open mind on this particular aspect. We have also taken into account the terracotta figurines which have, of late, assumed great importance. The differences have been pointed out, and during this period moulds were used after an original model was first prepared. Here we have taken into account only some of the best terracotta

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

figurines. Lastly, we also considered the architectural contribution of this period with reference to the encasing of the Sāñchī stūpa, the setting up of railings at different centres and the torana at Bhārhut. Even though the Śungas had no hand in the cave temples of the Western Ghats, and in Orissa, the early specimens were excavated during this period. The sculptures also furnish evidence of the town architectural plan, which is an interesting study. On the whole, we can conclude that, despite the disturbance and turmoil caused by the two foreign invasions during this period, the activities on the speculative and materialistic sides were not repressed and the contribution of this period is fairly notable.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Sources, and Sanskrit, Pāli and Prākrit works quoted in the Dissertation)

(arranged alphabetically)

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa	Ed. by Th. Aufrecht, Bonn 1879.
- Āraṇyaka	Ed. with a translation by A.B. Keith, Oxford 1909.
Anguttaranikāya	Ed. by Richard Morris and Edmund Hardy, P.T.S. London 1885-1900.
Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya	Ed. by R. Shama Śāstrī, Mysore 1909.
- -	Translation by the same, Mysore 1923.
Āpastambīya Dharma Sūtra	Ed. by G. Bühler, Bombay 1868 and 1872.
- Gṛhya Sūtra	Ed. by M. Winternitz, Vienna 1887.
Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra	Ed. by A.F. Stenzler, Leipzig 1864.
AŚVAGHOṢA	Buddhacarita. Ed. by E.B. Cowell, Oxford 1893.
-	- Ed. by E.H. Johnston, Calcutta 1935.
-	- translation by the same, Calcutta 1936.
-	Saundarananda. Ed. by E.H. Johnston, Lahore 1928.
-	- translation by the same, Oxford 1932.
Atharvaveda Saṁhitā	text. Ed. by R. Roth and W.D. Whitney, Berlin 1856.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Atharvaveda Saṁhitā and Pada text, with Sāyaṇa's Commentary	Ed. by Shankar P. Pandit, Bombay 1895-8.
	Translation by R.T.H. Griffith, Benares 1897.
	- by W.D. Whitney (with additions by C.R. Lanman) Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A. 1906.
	- in part, by M. Bloomfield, Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XLII, Oxford 1897.
BĀṆA	Harṣacarita - Padurang Pandit edition 3rd edition, Bombay 1912.
	- translation by E.B.Cowell and F.W.Thomas - Oriental translation, Royal Asiatic Society, London 1897.
BAUDHĀYANA	Dharmaśāstra - Ed. by E. Hultzsch, Leipzig 1884.
Bhagavadgītā	with bhāṣya of Śaṅkara. Edited by Kāsināṭha Śāstrī (Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series) Bombay 1896.
BHAṬṬOJI DĪKṢITA	Siddhānta Kaumudī - Edited and translated into English by S.C. Vasu and U.D. Basu, Allahabad, 1904-07.
- -	- Edited with a commentary by Tāranath Tarkavācaspati Calcutta 1863-64.
- -	- Edited by Kāsināth Sarman Bombay 1885.
- -	Śabdakauṣtubha - Edited and revised by Rāmakṛsna Śāstrī, Benares 1898-99.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Bṛhaṇḍāranyaka Upaniṣad	Ed. with a translation by O.Bohtlingk Leipzig 1889.
Chāndogya Upaniṣad	Ed. with a translation by Bohtlingk, Leipzig 1889.
Dhammapada - Commentary	Ed. by H.C. Norman, P.T.S. London 1906-14.
Digha Nikāya	Ed. by T.W. Rhys Davids and J.E. Carpentier, P.T.S. London 1890-1911.
Divyāvadāna	Ed. by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge 1896.
GAUTAMA	Dharma Sāstra (Sūtra) Ed. by Stenzler, London 1876.
Gopatha Brāhmaṇa	Ed. by Rajendralāla Mitra and H. Vidyābhūsana, Calcutta 1872.
Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa	Ed. by W. Caland, Amsterdam 1919.
Jātaka	Ed. by Fausboll, London 1877-97.
	Translated by various hands under the editorship of E.B. Cowell, Cambridge 1895-1913.
KĀLIDĀSA	Mālavikāgnimitra S. Seshādrī Ayyar edition 1896.
	- translation by C.H. Tawney, Second Edition Calcutta 1899.
	Meghadhūta G.R. Nandargikar edition 1824.
Kāma Sūtra of Vatsyāyana.	with the Commentary of Yaśodhara by G.D. Śāstrī (Kāśi Sank. Series) Benares 1929.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KĀTYĀYANA	Śrauta Sūtra - Ed. by A. Weber, The White Yajurveda, Vol.III.
Lalita-vistara	Ed. by Rajendralāla Mitra, Calcutta, 1877.
-	Translation by the same.
-	Ed. by S. Lefmann, Halle 1902-8.
-	German translation (I-V) by the same.
MAHĀBHĀRATA	Calcutta, 1834 edition, Vols. I-IV.
-	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona 1933.
Mahāvastu	Ed. by E. Senart, Vols. I-III, Paris 1882-97.
-	translation of Vol.I by J.J. Jones London 1949.
Majjhima Nikāya	Ed. by F.V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers, P.T.S. London 1888-89.
MĀNAVA Dharma Śāstra	Ed. by N.N. Mandalik with Commentaries, Bombay 1886.
-	Ed. by J. Jolly, London 1887.
-	translated by George Bühler, Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XXV, Oxford. 1886.
Milindapañha	Ed. by V. Trenckner, London 1880.
-	translated by T.W. Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XXXV, XXXVI. Oxford 1890-4.
NĀRADA Smṛti	Ed. by J. Jolly, Calcutta 1885.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PĀṆINI

Pānini's Grammatik - von Otto. Bohtlingk, Leipzig 1887.

Pāṇini's Grammatik, herausg übers, erläutert und mit verschiedenen Indices verschen, von O. Böhtlingk, Leipzig 1887.

Der Grammatiker Pāṇini, von F. Kielhorn, Gottingen 1885.

Ein Beitrag Zur kenntines der Indischen Literatur und Grammatik - von Bruno Liebich, 1891.

Pāṇini's eight books of grammatical Sūtras edited with an English translation and Commentary by W. Goonetilleke, Vol.I. pt.I, Bombay 1882.

The Aṣṭadhyāyī, translated into English by Śirisacandra Vasu, 7 volumes, Allahabad 1891-98.

Aṣṭadhyāyi Śūtrapātha with ganas and vārttikas. Edited by S.C. Śāstrigal (Srī Bālamanorama Series 2) Trichinopoly, 1912.

Le grammaire de Pānini, trans. par L. Renou, Paris 1947.

Pānini's acht Bücher gramatischer Regeln, Herausg. und erläutert von. O. Böhtlingk, Bd. 1,2, Bonn 1839-40.

Von. O. Böhtlingk, with M.S. translations by Sir Monier Williams.

Konkordanz, Pānini-Candra, von. B. Liebich, Breslau 1928.

Concordance, Pānini - Patañjali, by P.C. Lahiri.

Word Index to Pāṇini - Sūtrapatha and Pariśiṣṭas by Śridhara Pāthaka Poona 1935.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PĀṆINI (contd.)	Kāśikā edited by Bālaśāstrī, Benares, 2nd edition, 1898.
-	- Commentary added by Bhāgavat Prasād Tripathi, Benares 1890.
-	Zwei Kapitel der Kāśikā, von. B. Liebich, Breslau 1892.
-	Kāśikā Commentary, Ed. by A.S. Phadake (Kāśi Sansk. Series 37) Benares 1931.
PĀRASKARA Gṛhya Sūtra	Ed. by A.G. Stenzler, Leipzig 1876.
PATAÑJALI	The Vyākarana Mahābhāṣya Edited by F. Kielhorn Vols. 1-3. (Bombay Sansk. Series) Bombay 1892-1909.
-	- with Kaiyaṭa's Bhāṣya-pradīpa and occasional notes complied by Rājārāma Śāstrī 5 volumes, Benares 1871.
-	Mahābhāsya Pradīpoddyota by Nāgeśa Bhatta, Edited by Pandit Bāhu-vallabha Śāstrī, Vols. 1-3. Calcutta 1901-09.
	Vyākarāṇa Mahābhāṣya with Bhāṣya-pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and Bhāṣyapradīpoddyota of Nāgojibhaṭṭa. Edited by J.R. Ballantyne, Vol.I. Mirzapur 1855-6.
-	- VI.4.1. with Commentary. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series Poona 1938.
-	Vyākarana Mahābhāṣya with Bhāṣya-pradīpa and Bhāṣyapradī-poddyota, Reproduced by Photo-lithography, under the Supervision of T.H.Gold-Stücker, Vols.1-3, London 1874.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PATAÑJALI (contd.)	Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya with Bhāṣya-pradīpa and Bhāṣyapradīpoddyota. Edited by Śivadatta, D. Kudāla, Vols. 1,2. Bombay 1932-5.
-	Die ersten funf āhinkas des Mahabhasyam übers und erklärt von V. Trapp, Leipzig 1933.
-	Word Index to Patañjali's Vyākarana Mahābhāṣya, Compiled by Śrīdhara Śāstrī Pathaka and Siddhesvara Śāstrī, Poona 1927.
-	Nidāna Sūtra, edited by K.N.Bhatnagar Lahore 1939.
-	Yoga Sūtra with Commentaries by D. Śāstrī (Kāśī Sansk. Series) Benares 1930
-	The Patañjali Carita of Rāmabhadra Dikṣita. Edited by Pandit Śivadatta and Kāśīnāth Pāḍurang. Parab (Kāvyamalā 51) Bombay 1895.
-	The Paribhāṣenduśekhara of Nāgojibhatta, Edited, explained and translated by F. Kielhorn. (Bombay Sansk. Series, No.229) Bombay 1868-73.
PURĀṆĀS	Bhāgavata - Ganpatkṛṣṇāji Press, Bombay 1889 edition.
-	- par L. Burnouf. Paris 1840-98.
-	Brahmānda - Śrī Venkateśvara Press, Bombay, 1906 edition.
-	Mārkaṇḍeya - Edited by K.M. Banerjea (Bibl.Ind.) Calcutta 1865-82.
-	- Translated with Notes by F.E. Pargiter, Calcutta 1888-1904.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PURĀṆĀS (contd.)	Matsya - The Ānandāsrama Poona 1907 edition.
-	Padma - edited by Viśvanāth Nārāyaṇa Māndaḷik. Ānàndāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona 1893-4.
-	Vāyu - The Ānandāśrama Poona 1905 edition.
-	Viṣṇu - translated by H.H. Wilson, London, 1840.
	edited by Fitzedward Hall¢ London 1865-70.
Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa	Edited by Aurel Stein, Bombay 1892.
-	translated by the same, Westminster 1900.
-	translated by R.S. Pandit, Allahabad 1936.
Rāmāyaṇa of Vālamīki	Kāśināth Pāṇdurang Parab edition, Bombay 1888.
-	translated by R.T. Griffith, London 1870.
Ṛgveda Saṁhitā and Pada text with Sayaṇas Commentary	Edited by F. MaxMüller, 2nd edition, 1890-2.
-	Samhita text. Edited by Th. Aufrecht, 2nd edition, Bonn 1877.
-	Translation by H. Grassmann, Leipzig 1876-7.
-	- by R.T. Griffith, Benares 1896-7.
-	- by MaxMüller, Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XXXII. Oxford 1891.
-	- by H.H. Wilson, Vols.I-VI London 1866-1888.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra	Edited by Hermann Oldenberg in Indische Studien, Vol.XV. pp.13 f.
Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha	by Mādhava Ācarya.
-	Translation by E.B. Cowell and A.E. Gough, London 1882.
Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa	Edited by A. Weber, London 1855.
-	Translation by J. Eggeling, Sacred Books of the East, Vols. XII, XXVI XLI, XLIII, XLIV. Oxford 1882-1900
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa	Edited by Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1855-70.
Udāna	Edited by P. Steinthal, P.T.S. London 1885.
-	Translation by D.M. Strong, London 1902.
Uttarādhyayana Sūtra	Edited by J. Charpentier, Upsala 1921.
-	Translated by H. Jacobi. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLV.
Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari	with a Commentary by Puṇyarāja, edited by Gangadhar Śāstrī, Banaras 1887.
Vararuca Saṁgraha	Edited by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum Sansk. Series, No.33.
Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra	Edited by A. Fuhrer, Bombay 1883.
-	Translation - Sacred Books of the East, Vol.XIV.
Vinaya	Edited by H. Oldenberg, London 1879-83.
-	texts - Translated by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. Sacred Books of the East Vols.XIII, XVII, XX. Oxford 1881-85.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

YĀJÑAVALKYA Dharma Śāstra — Edited by Stenzler, Berlin 1849. (Mitāksara, Bombay 1909).

\- — Smṛti - edited by Harināràyaṇa Āpte. Ānandāśrama Saṅsk. Series, Poona 1903.

\- — Called the Mitākṣara; Part I. translated by S.C. Vasu, Allahabad 1907.

Yajurveda — Taittirīya Saṁhitā - edited by A. Weber, Indische Studien, XI and XII. Berlin 1871-2.

\- — Maitrāyaṇī saṁhitā - edited by Von Schroeder, Leipzog 1881-6.

\- — Vājasaneyī saṁhitā with Mahidhara's Commentary, edited by A. Weber, London 1852.

\- — \- — Translation by T.H. Griffith, Benares 1899.

\- — \- — Translation by A.B.Keith Cambridge, Mass. 1914.

YĀSKA — Nirukta with Commentaries, edited by P. Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, Calcutta 1882.

\- — Nirukta - The Nighaṇṭu and the Nīrukta Translation with Commentary by Laksmana Sarup, Oxford 1920.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LEXICONS AND ATLAS

Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra	Edition Von O. Böhtlingk und C. Rieu, St. Petersburg 1847.
Amarakosa	Edited with notes by P. Sivadatta, Bombay 1889.
Böhtlingk u. Roth	Sanskrit Wörterbuch, Vols. 1-7, St. Petersburg 1855-75.
Monier Williams	A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Oxford 1899.
Rhys Davids and Stede	Pāli-English Dictionary, 1921-1925
Imperial Gazeeter of India	Vol. XXVI. Atlas.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY - GENERAL

(arranged alphabetically)

AGRAWALA, V.S. — Agriculture, as known to Pāṇini
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XIII. pp.1 f.

- Coins, as known to Pāṇini
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XI. pp.1 f.

- A Further note on Coins from Pāṇini
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XII. pp.32 f.

- also, Nāg.Pra.Pat (in Hindi)
xliii (N.S. XIX) pp.375 f.

- Food and Drink in Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhyāyī
J.G.J.I. Vol.IV. pp.11 f.

- Geographical Data in Pāṇini's Aṣṭadhyāyī
J.U.P.H. Vol.XVI. pp.

- Guide to the Lucknow Museum Archaeological Section, Lucknow 1940.

- Guide to the Mathurā Museum
Lucknow 1939.

- Mathurā Terracottas
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.IX. pt.II, pp.6 f.

- A New Pañcāla coin of Prājāpatimitra
J.N.S.I. Vol.III. p.79.

- Pre-Kuṣāna Art of Mathurā
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.VI. pp.81 f.

AIYAR, K.G. Śaṅkara — The Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela, I. A. Vol.XLIX. pp.43 f.

ALLAN, J. — Catalogue of the coins of Ancient India, London 1936.

ALTEKAR, A.S. — Notes on some new Pañcāla coins
J.N.S.I. Vol.IV. pp.17-18.

BACHHOFER, Ludwig. — Early Indian Sculptures, 2 Vols.
Paris 1929.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BAGCI, P.C. — Krimiśa and Demetrius I.H.Q. Vol.XXII. pp.81 f.

BANERJEE Śāstrī, A. — Patañjali and Bhāsa J.B.O.R.S. Vol.IX. pp.71 f.

- — The Asuras (Reference to Pre-Patañjali tradition) J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XII. pp.128 f.

BANERJEE, R.D. — Note on the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela. J.B.O.R.S. Vol.III. pp.486 f.

BARNETT, L.D. — Antiquities of India London 1913

BARUA, B.M. — Bhārhut 3 volumes, Calcutta.

- — Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahabad Museum. A few suggestions. J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XIX. pp.48 f.

- — Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udaigiri and Khandagiri Caves Calcutta 1929.

BEAL, Samuel. — Buddhist Records of the Western World London 1884.

BELVALKAR, S.K. — Systems of Sanskrit Grammar Poona 1915.

BHAGWANLAL Indraji — The Hàthigumphā and Three other inscriptions in the Udaigiri caves. Actes du Sixiéme Internationale Congréss des Orientalistes. Part III. Sec. II. 152. Leyden.

BHANDARKAR, D.R. — Ājīvikās. I.A. Vol.XLI. pp.286 f.

- — Ancient Indian Numismatics. Carmichael Lectures.

- — Excavations at Besnagar A.S.I. An.Rep.1913-14, pp.186 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BHANDARKAR, D.R. (contd.) — Notes on the Ancient History of India 'Saka-Yavanam' I.C. Vol.I. pp.275 f.

BHANDARKAR, R.G. — Allusions to Kṛṣṇa in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya I. A. Vol.III. PP.14 f.

- Early History of the Deccan Bombay 1895.

- On the Date of Patañjali and the King in whose reign he lived I. A. Vol.I. pp.299 f.

- Note on a letter by Professor A. Weber I. A. Vol.II. pp.59 f.

- Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya I. A. Vol.II. pp.69 f.

- On the Interpretation of Patañjali I. A. Vol.II. pp.94 f.

- Reply to Professor Weber I. A. Vol.II. pp.238 f.

- The Maurya passage in the Mahābhāṣya I. A. Vol.XVI. pp.156 f.

- A Supplementary Note on the Maurya Passage in the Mahābhāṣya I. A. Vol.XVI. pp.172 f.

- Note on the Date of Patañjali (A reply to Peterson) J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol.XVI. pp.199 f.

- Pāṇini and the Geography of Afghanistan and the Panjab I. A. Vol.I. pp.1 f.

- Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems (Grundriss Series) Strassburg 1913.

BHAṢYĀCĀRYA, N. — The Age of Patañjali Adyar 1889.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

BHATTĀCĀRYA, Tarapada — The Śuṅga Dynasty
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XXXV. pp.47 f.

BHATTĀCĀRYA, U.C. — The evidence of Pāṇini on Vāsudeva worship
I.H.Q. Vol.I. pp.483 f; Vol.II. pp.186 f; 864 f.

BOSE, Girindrasekhara. — Reconstruction of Āndhra Chronology
J.R.A.S.B. Letters, Vol.V. 1939 pp.1 f.

BROWN, Percy. — Indian Architecture (Buddhist - Hindu Periods) Bombay 1948.

BÜHLER, J.G. — Sāñchī Votive Inscriptions
E.I. Vol.II. pp.88.f.

- — The roots of the Dhātu Pāṭha not found in Literature (Reference to Patanjali and his date)
I. A. Vol.XXIII. pp.141, 250.

CARLLEYLE, A.C. — Coins of the Śuṅga or Mitra Dynasty
J.A.S.B. 1880 pp.21 f.

CHAKLADHAR, H.C. — Eastern India and Āryāvarta
I.H.Q. Vol.IV. pp.84 f.

CHAKRAVARTTY, P.C. — The Mahābhāṣya - English translation. Adhyāya I, Āhnika I
I.H.Q. Vol.I. pp.703 f.

- — Patañjali as he reveals himself in his Mahābhāṣya
I.H.Q. Vol.II. pp.67 f; 262 f; 464 f; 738 f.

- — The Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar
Calcutta 1930.

CHANDA, R.P. — Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava tradition
(Memoirs Arch.Sur.Ind. No.5).

- — Date of Khāravela
I. A Vol.XLVIII. pp.214 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CHANDA, R.P. (contd.) — Pusyamitra and the Śuṅga Empire I.H.Q. Vol.V. pp.393 f; 587 f.

\- — The Mathurā School od Sculpture A.S.I. An.Rep. 1922-3 pp.164 f.

CHANDRADHAR, Guleri. — ON Śiva Bhāgavata in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya I. A. Vol.XLI. p.272.

CHARPENTIER, J. — ĀJĪVIKAS J.R.A.S. 1913 pp.689 f.

\- — The date of Mahāvīra I. A. Vol.XLIII. pp.167 f.

CHATTOPĀDHĀYA, K.C. — Patañjali and his knowledge of Science I.H.Q. Vol.III. pp.181 f.

CODRINGTON, K.D. — Some Indian Terracotta Figurine I. A. Vol.LX. pp.141 f.

COLEBROOKE — Indian Weights and Measures. Trans. A.S.B. 1801 pp.95 f.

COOMARASWAMY, Anand, K. — Ancient Archaic Terracottas Leipzig, 1928.

\- — Early Indian Architecture Philadelphia 1931.

\- — History of Indian and Indonesian Art London 1927.

\- — La Sculpture de Bodhgayā Paris 1935.

\- — Yakṣas Washington 1928-31.

CUNNINGHAM, Alexander — Ancient Geography of India London 1871.

\- — Re-edited with notes and Introduction by S.N. Majumdar Śāstrī. Calcutta 1924

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CUNNINGHAM, Alexander (contd.) Archaeological Survey Reports. Vol.I. pp.301 f; III. pp.14 f; VI. pp.165, 174; X. p.94,pl.II; XIV. p.149,pl.XXXI. Simla 1871-85.

- Bhilsa Tope London 1854.

- Mahābodhī London 1892.

- The stūpa of Bhārhut London 1879.

DAMIELSSON Die einleitung des Mahābhāsya Z.D.M.G. Vol. 37. pp.20 f.

DAR, M.B.L. Some rare Pañcāla coins from the Site of Ancient Ahicchatra J.N.S.I. Vol.II. pp.115 f.

DAS, Raikṛṣṇa, A Vāsavadattā-Udayana Terracotta Plaque from Kausāmbī J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XVIII. pp.82 f.

DASGUPTA, C.C. Ancient Coins found in Pañcāla, Ayodhyā, Kausāmbī and Mathurā - A study I.H.Q. Vol. VIII. pp.54 f.

- Bibliography of Ancient Indian Terra-cottas J.A.S.B. Vol.IV. 1938 pp.67 f.

DASGUPTA, N.N. Pāṇini and the Yavanas I.C. Vol.II. pp.356 f.

DASGUPTA, S.N. History of Indian Philosophy Vol.I. Cambridge 1922.

- Yoga System in relation to other systems of Indian thought (Reviewed by L.D. Barnett, J.R.A.S. 1932 p.417).

DASGUPTA, S.N. and DEY, S.K. History of Sanskrit Literature Calcutta 1947.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

DEY, S.K. — The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit B.S.O.S. Vol.III. pp.507 f.

DEY, N.L. — Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India London 1920.

DHRUVA, K.H. — Yuga Purāna Chapter in the Gārgī Saṁhitā J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XVI. pp.18 f.

DUBREUIL, Jouveau, G. — Ancient History of the Deccan (translated by V.S. Swāminand Dikshitar) Pondicherry 1920.

DURGA PRASAD, — Classification and significance of the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins of Ancient India J.A.S.B. Vol.30, 1934. Numismatic Supplement no.XLV. pp.5 f.

- — Observation of different types of silver punch-marked coins, their periods and locale J.A.S.B. Vols. 3-4, 1937-8. Numismatic Supplement no.XLVII. pp.51 f.

FADDEGON, Barend. — Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar Amsterdam 1936.

FERGUSSON, J. — Tree and Serpent worship London 1873.

FLEET, J.F. — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol.III. Calcutta 1888.

- — Review of Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1905-6. J.R.A.S. 1910 pp.242 f.

- — The Hāthigumphā Inscription J.R.A.S. 1910 pp.824 f.

- — The Topographical List of the Brhat Saṁhitā I. A. Vol.XXII. pp.113 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

FOUCHER, A. — L'art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra tome I. Paris 1905.

\- — On an old Bas-relief in the Museum at Mathurā J.B.O.R.S. Vol.VI. pp.470 f.

FÜHRER, A. — On the Pabhosā Inscriptions E.I. Vol.II. pp.243 f.

GARDNER, Percy. — Catalogue of Indian Coins (Greek and Scythic Kings) London 1886.

GEIGER, W. — Ācārya, the friend of the student and the relation between the three Ācāryas I. A. Vol.V. pp.345 f.

\- — Mahābhāṣya Zu Pāṇini VI.4.22 und 132. S.W.A. 160, 1908 pp.81 f.

GHOSA, A. — A study of the Smrti passages in the Mahābhāṣya I.H.Q. Vol.XI. pp.77 f.

GHOSA, N.N. — Did Puṣyāmitra Śunga persecute the Buddhists. Proc.Ind.Hist.Cong. 1943 (1944) pp.109 f. Cf. also Law Vol.I. 1945 pp.210 f.

\- — References to the Yavana Invasions J.G. Jha. Res.Inst. IV. pt.I. 1946 pp.44 f.

GOLDSTÜCKER, I. — Pāṇini his place in Sanskrit literature

GORDON, D.H. — Early Indian Terracottas J.I.S.O.A. Vol.XI. 1943, pp.136.f.

GROWSE, F.S. — MATHURĀ 3rd edition, 1883.

GUPTA, R.K. — A historical investigation on Pāṇini together with a brief account of Kātyāyana and Patañjali (in Bengālī) Calcutta, 1875.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

HANNES, Skold. — The relative Chronology of Pāṇini and the Pratiśākhyas
I. A. Vol.LV. pp.181 f.

HAZRA, R.C. — Pre-Pauranic Hindu Society before 200 A.D.
I.H.Q. Vol.XV. pp.403 f.

HILLEBRANDT, A.F. Alfred — Hindu Worship
E.R.E. Vol.XII. pp.795 f.

- — Zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas
Z.D.M.G. Vol. LXXII. pp.227 f.

HIRIYANNA, M. — First Commentary on the Mahābhāsya
I.H.Q. Vol.II. pp.415-6.

HULTZSCH, E. — The Śuṅga Inscription of the Bhārhut Stūpa
I.A. Vol.XIV. p.138.

- — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Vol.I. Oxford 1925.

JACOB, G.A. — Popular Maxims
Series I-III, Bombay 1900-1904.

JACOBI, H. — Reference to the identity of two Patañjalis
J.A.O.S. Vol.XXXI. pp.25 f.

JAYASWAL, K.P. — The Hāthigumphā Inscription
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.III. pp.425 f;
Vol.IV. pp.364 f; Vol.XIII. pp.221 f.

- — Historical Data in the Gārgī Samhitā and the Brāhmin Empire
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XIV. pp.399 f.

- — On the rule of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.XV. pp.583 f.

- — Some coins of the Mauryas and Śuṅgas
J.R.A.S. 1935 pp.78 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

JOHNSTON, E.H. — Demetrius in Sind
J.R.A.S. 1939 pp.229 f.

– A Terracotta Figure at Oxford
J.I.S.O.A. Vol.X. pp.94 f.

KALA, S.C. — Bhārhut Sculptures in the Allahābad Museum
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XVIII. pp.91 f.

– Sculptures in the Allahābad Museum
Allahābad 1945

KANE, P.V. — History of Hindu Dharma Śāstras
Vols. I-III. Poona 1930.

KEITH, A.B. — Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library.
1935, p.243.

– History of Sanskrit Literature
Oxford 1928.

– Problems of Indian Philosophy
I.H.Q. Vol.VIII. pp.426 f.

– Religion and Philosophy of the Veda
H.O.S. Vols. 31-32.

– Sanskrit Drama
Oxford 1924

– The Child Krsna
J.R.A.S. 1908 pp.169 f.

– The Śaubhika and the Indian Drama
B.S.O.S. I. IV. pp.27 f.

– The Vedic Ākhyāna and the Indian Drama
J.R.A.S. 1911 pp.979 f.

KERN, H. — Manual of Indian Buddhism
(Grundiss Series) Strassburg 1896.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

KIELHORN, Franz. Junāgadh Inscription of Rudra Daman in the year 72
E.I. Vol.VIII. 1905-6 pp.36 f.

- Kātyāyana and Patañjali, their relation to each other and Pāṇini
Bombay 1876.

- Notes on the Mahābhāṣya
I.A. Vols. XV. pp.80 f; 203 f; 228 f.
XVI. pp.101 f; 178 f;244 f.

- On the Mahābhāṣya
I.A. Vol.V. pp.241 f.

- Quotations in the Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā-Vritti
I.A. Vol.XIV. pp.326 f.

- Vikrama dates in a Manuscript of the Mahābhāsya
I.A. Vol.XVII. pp.328 f.

KONOW, Sten. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Vol.II. Pt.I. Delhi 1929.

- Mathurā Brāhmī Inscription of the year 28
E.I. Vol.XXI. pp.55 f.

- Notes on the Śakas
I.C. Vol.II. pp.189 f.

- Some problems raised by the Khāravela Inscription
A.O. Vol.I. pp.21 f.

LAKE, H.H. Besnagar
J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XXIII. pp.135 f.

LAW, B.C. Geography of Early Buddhism
London 1932.

- Geographical Essays
London 1937.

- Pañcālas
(Memoir.Arch.Sur.Ind.No.67)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

LEVI, Sylvain. Notes indiennes
J.A. tome CCVI. pp.57 f.

- Notes de Chronologie indienne
J.A. 1891 S.8. tome XVIII pp.549 f.

- Le théâtre indien
Paris 1890.

LIEBICH, Bruno. Materialien Zum Dhâtupatha - Nachwort
S.H.A.W. 1921, 7 Abhandlung pp.57 f.

- Zur Ein führung in die Indische ein heimische sprachwissenschaft
S.H.A.W. 1919, 4 Abhandlung pp.1 f.

LÜDERS, H. The era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja
D.R. Bhandarkar Volume pp.277 f.

- List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from earliest times to second century A.D.
E.I. Vol.X. Appendix.

- Die Śaubhikas
Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des indischen Dramas
S.B.A.W. Berlin 1916 pp.698 f.

MACAY, E.J.H. Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro
Delhi 1938

MACDONELL, A.A. A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature
London 1913.

MACDONELL, A.A. and KEITH, A.B. Vedic Index
Vols. I-II, London 1912.

MADHAVAKRSNA, Sarma. Patañjali and his relation to some authors and works
I. C. Vol.XI.

MAJUMDAR, N.G. A New Brāhmī Inscription from Mathurā
I.H.Q. Vol.II. pp.441 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

MAJUMDAR, R.C. — Hāthigumphā Inscription
I.A. Vol.XLVII. pp.223 f.

- — - Second note on -
I.A. Vol.XLVIII. pp.187 f.

- — Some observations on Puṣyamitra Śuṅga and his Empire
I.H.Q. Vol.I. pp.91 f; 214 f.

MANKAD, D.R. — A critically edited text of the Yuga-Purāṇa
J.U.P.H.S. Vol.XX. pp.32 f.

MARSHALL, John H. — Archaeological Exploration in India 1908-9.
J.R.A.S. 1909 pp.1053 f.

- — Excavations at Taxila
A.S.I. An.Rep. 1914-15 pp.1 f.
- 1915-16 pp.1 f.

- — A Guide to Sāñchī
Calcutta 1918.

- — A Guide to Taxilā
Calcutta 1918

MARSHALL, John H. and FOUCHER, A. — The Monuments of Sāñchī
Vols. I - III, Calcutta 1940.

MAXMÚLLER, F.A. — History of Sanskrit Literature
London 1859

McCRINDLE — Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian
Calcutta 1877 - new Edition 1926.

- — Ancient India as described by Ptolemy
Calcutta 1885.

- — Second edition edited by S.N. Majumdar Śāstrī. Calcutta.

- — The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythrean Sea
Calcutta 1879.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

M^{c}CRINDLE (contd.)	The Invasion of Alexander the Great New Edition, Westminster 1896.
-	Ancient India as described in Classical literature Westminster 1901.
MITRA, Rājendralāla	On Goṇikāputra and Gonardīya as Names of Patañjali J.A.S.B. Vol.LII. 1883, pp.261 f.
-	Spirituous Drinks in Ancient India J.A.S.B. 1873, pp.1 f.
MOOKERJI, R.K.	Further Historical Data from Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya I. C. Vol.II. pp.362 f.
-	History of Sanskrit Literature from the works of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali I.A. Vol.LII. pp.21 f.
MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA, Manmath,	Some notes on the Skanda-Kārttikeya I.H.Q. Vol.VII. pp.309 f.
OLDENBERG, H.	Die Religion des Veda Berlin, 1894.
PARANJPYE, V.G.	Le vārttika de Kātyāyana Paris 1922
PARGITER, F.E.	The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kāli Age Oxford 1913.
-	Ancient Indian Historical tradition London 1922
-	Ancient Indian Genealogies and Chronology J.R.A.S. 1910 pp. 1 f.
-	Ancient Countries in Eastern India J.A.S.B. 1897 pp.85 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

PARGITER. F.E. — Early Indian traditional history J.R.A.S. 1914 pp.

\- — The Nations of India at the battle between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas J.R.A.S. 1908 pp.309 f.

\- — The North Pañcāla Dynasty J.R.A.S. 1918 pp.267 f.

PATHOK, K.B. — On the text and interpretation of some passages in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali An. B.O R I. Vol.XIII. pp.17 f.

PATIL, D.R. — Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa Poona 1946.

PETERSON, Peter, — Note on the Date of Patañjali J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol.XVI. pp.187 f.

\- — Pāṇini and the Age of Classical Sanskrit poetry J.R.A.S. 1891 pp.311 f.

\- — Pāṇini, poet and grammarian J.R.A.S. 1911 p.3.

POUSSIN, de la Vallée, — L'inde aux temps des Mauryas Paris 1930

\- — Patanjali and the Śakas I.C. Vol.II. pp.584 f.

PRĀNNĀTH — A Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India London 1929.

PRZYLUSKI, Jean. — La légende d'emperor Aśoka Paris 1923.

PURANCHAND, Samsookha. — A few notes on Pusyamitra Śunga and the Śunga Empire I.H.Q. Vol.VI. pp.184 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

RAPSON, E.J. — Ancient India
Cambridge 1914.

\- — Cambridge History of India, Vol.I.
Cambridge 1922.

\- — Indian Coins (Grundriss Series)
Strassburg 1898.

\- — Catalogue of Indian coins
(Andhras and W. Ksatrapas)
London 1908.

RAY, Niharranjan. — Maurya and Śuṅga Art
Calcutta 1945.

RAYCHAUDHARY, H.C. — A note on the Lineage of Pusyamitra
I.C. Vol.III. pp.439 f.

\- — Political History of Ancient India
Calcutta 1931.

\- — Studies in Indian Antiquities
Calcutta 1932.

RENOU, Louis. — La géographie de Ptolemee. L'inde
(VII.1-4) Paris 1925.

RIVETT-CARNAC, H. — Coins of the Sunga Dynasty
J.A.S.B. 1880 pp.87 f.

SANKARAIYAR, K.G. — The Hāthigumphā Cave Inscription of
Khāravela
I.A. Vol.XLIX pp.43 f.

ŚĀSTRĪ, Harprasad — Dismemberment of the Maurya Empire
J.A.S.B. Vol.VI. 1910.

\- — The Date of Kālidasa
(Reference to Patañjali)
J.B.O.R.S. Vol.II. pp.323 f.

\- — Who were the Śuṅgas
J.A.S.B. New Series.

ŚĀSTRĪ, Kailaśacandra — Pāṇini, Patañjali and Pūjyapāda
Jain Siddhanta Bhāskara
Vol.VI. No.4.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

SCHOFF, W.H. — The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea London 1912.

SHAH, M.A. — Pusyamitra - Who is He? Proceedings Indian Oriental Conference (Madras) Vol.III. pp.437 f.

- — The Dates of Patañjali and Vātsyāyana ibid (Allahābad) vol.IV. pp.145 f.

SIRCAR, D.C. — Date of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya I.H.Q. Vol.XV. pp.633 f.

SMITH, V.A. — Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Vol.I. Oxford 1906.

- — Early History of India 4th edition, Oxford 1924.

- — History of Fine Art in India, Burma and Ceylon 2nd edition, Oxford 1930.

- — The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā Allahabad 1901.

- — New light on Ancient India J.R.A.S. 1918, pp.543 f.

SUBRAMANYAM, K.G. — A Short note on Mr Jayaswal's interpretation of a Mahābhāṣya passage in his Hindu Polity I.H.Q. Vol.II. pp.416 f.

- — Patañjali and Kāvya Literature preserved by him (Proceedings of the Indian Oriental Conference (Madras) Vol.III. pp.96 f.

- — The Vārttikas Journal Oriental Institute, Madras, Vol.II. pp.25 f.

TAKAKUSU, J. — I-tsing Oxford 1896.

TARN, W.W. — The Greeks in Bactria and India Cambridge 1938.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

TELANG, K.T. — The Rāmāyaṇa older than Patañjali (a note) I.A. Vol.I. p.124.

THOMAS, F.W. — Abhiṣeka E.R.E. Vol.I. pp.21 f.

- — Note on the Hāthigumphā Inscription J.R.A.S. 1922 pp.83 f.

UPĀDHYĀYA, Basudeva — Geographical Data in Pāṇini I.H.Q. Vol.XII. pp.51 f.

VĀSUDEVA Sarma — Patañjali on Kṣudraka - Mālava I.C. Vol.I.

VENKATEṢWARA, S.V. — India in the Second Century B.C. Proceedings Indian Oriental Conference (Madras) Vol.III. pp.407 f.

VOGEL, J. Ph. — Archaeological Exploration in India 1910-11 J.R.A.S. 1912 pp.113 f.

- — Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum Allahabad 1910.

- — La Sculpture de Mathurā Paris 1930

- — The Mathurā School of Sculpture A.S.I.An.Rep. 1906-7 pp.161 f.

WEBER, A. — On the Date of Patañjali (translated from Indische Studien by the Rev. D.C. Boyd) I.A. Vol.II. pp.61 f.

- — On Patañjali etc. I.A. Vol.II. pp.206 f.

- — On the Yavanas, Mahābhāṣya, Rāmāyaṇa and Kṛṣnajanāmāstami I.A. Vol.IV. pp.244 f; VI. pp.301 f.

- — Das Mahābhāṣya des Patañjali Indische Studien Vol.13 pp.292 f.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

WIJESEKERA, O.H. De — Buddhist Evidence for the early existence of Drama
I.H.Q. Vol.XVII. pp.196 f.

— The date of Patañjali
I.H.Q. Vol.XVI. pp.586 f.

WINTERNITZ, M. — Geschichite der Indischen Litteratur
III Band p.387 f.

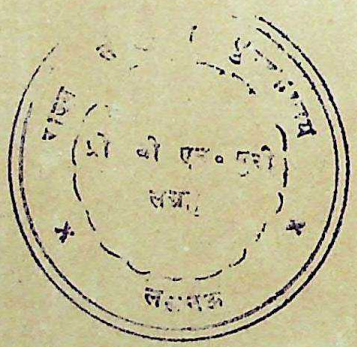
— A history of Indian Literature
Vols. 1-2, Calcutta 1923

WOODS, J.H. — The Yoga-System of Patañjali
(Harvard Oriental Series No.XVII)

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh